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THE
HISTORY OF KASHGHARIA,

BY

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A MEMBER OF THE LATE YARKUND MISSION.

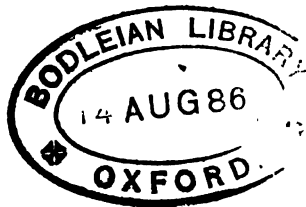


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PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY OF KÁSHGHARIA.

THE following sketch of the history of Káshgharia, and supplementary description of the country, have been prepared for submission to Government at the request of Sir Douglas Forsyth, late Envoy and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Káshghar.

The work has been compiled from such authorities and materials as were accessible at the time, coupled with the results of personal enquiry and observation on the spot during the stay of the Embassy in the country.

These from the nature of the case, it will be understood, were found as limited as the time itself at my disposal and, though no labour has been spared in reducing the mass of materials collected into a consecutive and at the same time brief form, there has consequently been no attempt to enter into lengthy detail. This last result could only have been accomplished had I enjoyed the advantage of a reference to European and Oriental libraries, and a sufficient leisure to study the subject.

I trust, however, that the history and description of this, to us, new region, such as they are, will be found to contain some interesting and useful information, and serve to convey a correct knowledge of the past events and present condition of the country to which they relate.

It is necessary for me here to state that the published authorities from whose works I have drawn my information are noted in the margin of the text by initials according to the subjoined detailed list. For the rest and for the later history I am indebted to the statements of various individuals, actors, or participators in the events they described, such as Afghans, Hindustanis, Andijánis, Calmác and other residents. Whilst for the information brought together in the general description I am indebted to the statements made by natives of the country, compared and tested, or modified and enlarged according to my own personal observation and enquiry.

The following authors have been made use of in the compilation of this history of Káshgharia, namely:—

- Malcolm's History of Persia. M.P.
- Yule's Cathay and the way thither. Y.C.
- Beal's Fah Hian. B.F.H.
- Remusat's Khoten. R.K.
- Michell's Russians in Central Asia. M.V.
- Vamberg's History of Bukhára. V.B.
- Hamilton Smith's Natural History of the Human Species. S.H.S.
- Wells William's Middle Kingdom. W.W.
- Romanoffski's Turkestan. Rom.
- Rauzat-us-Safá of Mír Kháwind Sháh. R.S.
- Zafar Náma Tymúri of Sharífuddín 'Alí Yazdí. Z.N.T.

Tabcáti Náasari of Minhájuddín 'Uthmán Jáuzjání. T.N.

Tárikhi Narshakhi written 332H.=943 A.D. by Abúbakar Muhammad bin Ja'far al Narshakhi,
and translated from the Arabic by Muhammad bin Za'far bin 'Umar into Persian in 522H.=
1127A.D. N.

Tazkira Bughra Khan, translated from the original Persian into Turki by Shekh Najmuddín Attár.
T.B.K.

Tárikhi Rashídí of Mirzá Hydar Gúrikán. T.R.

Tárikhi Sighár, monograph of 'Abdulla *Pánsad* in the service of the Ruler of Káshghar. T.S.

Tazkira Hidáyat of Mír Kháluddín Yárkandi. T.H.

Personal observation or enquiry. P.

SIMLA, }
The 22nd August 1874. }

(Sd.) H. W. BELLEW, *Surgeon-Major,*
Yárkand Embassy.

HISTORY OF KÁSHGHARIA.

BY

H. W. BELLEW.

THE ancient history of this region, which constitutes no mean portion, as regards superficial extent at least, of that vast territory indicated by the comprehensive term Central Asia, is enveloped in the doubts of obscurity that surround all ancient history.

For several centuries anterior to the Christian era it formed part of the empire of Túrán swayed by a long line of Scythian Kings who are referred to a common descent from the great family of Afrásyáb. Of the wealth, power, civilization and laws of this ancient and most remarkable people who figure in the early records under the various Tátár, Chinese, Indian, and European appellations of Kinto Moey, Sai, Su, Sácá, Sákýá, Xaca, Sacœ, Scythœ, Tokhári, Yueichi, Yuchi, Yetœ, Getœ, Jattah, Jath, Jat, Jotun, Gothi, Guti, Goths, Guttones, Massagetœ, Caucasians, Tentones, Venden, Vandals, Germans, &c., &c., and who are all classed under the generic appellation of Aryan from Ariavártha, the old Sanskrit name of the region now known as that group of mountain ranges concentrating in Hindú Kush—the Kohi Káf of Orientals, the Caucasus of occidentals—and recognized as the primæval abode or location of the Caucasian stock of the Man family, we have many historic records; but none more significant than the yet enduring consequences of their early foreign conquests from this cradle of their race extending from the valley of the Syhon on the west to the basin of Lake Balkash on the east.

The successive irruptions of their vast colonizing hordes into northern and eastern Europe during the centuries just preceding and following the Christian era, as history teaches, thoroughly revolutionized the old form of society, and planted a new set of languages, with a new blood on the soil of their conquests there. Whilst to the south and east the Indian peninsula similarly in its language, religion, and feudalism bears testimony to the earlier and as complete transplantation of the ancient Scythian element in that direction. Between these two great waves of migration are the Persians.

Their historians romance on the theme of the wars of the early sovereigns of Iran against the incursions of those kindred races, the terrible Scythians of Túrán. Their poets sing the heroic combats and deeds of valour of their champions against this northern tyrant, and tell of his final repulse beyond the Oxus, the limit between the two empires.

The power of the Scythians in their native seat appears to have been first broken by their western neighbours and old enemies of Irán, and finally extinguished by the Macedonian conquest.

- M.P. Syáwush, about 580 B.C., fleeing from his father, Kaikáos, crossed the Jyon and sought refuge with the enemy of his family, Afrásyáb, whose capital—near the site of the modern Bukhárá—was Rámetan, not very long afterwards celebrated for its magnificent *átashkadah* or “fire temple.” The Scythian King received the Persian refugee with kindness and, granting him an honorable asylum, gave him his daughter, the beautiful Farangís, in marriage, with the provinces of Khutan and Chin as her dowry. Thither Syáwush retired with his bride, and settling at Kung—probably Katak, the ruins of which now exist near Lob at 12 or 14 days journey north-east of Khutan—made it the capital of his government of Khutan and Chin, or as it is usually styled Máchín which, together, comprised the southern and eastern portion of the great basin known as Eastern Turkistan.

Garshewáz became jealous of the rising power of Syáwush, and persuading his brother, Afrásyáb, that he aimed at independence so excited his suspicions that he summoned him to his capital and there killed him. Popular tradition points to the Darwáza Ghoryán of Bukhárá as the spot on which he was slain; and the site was long held sacred by the Mughán or "fire-worshippers," the followers of Zarathustra or Zoroaster, who used to assemble there every New Year's day at sunrise, each man bringing a cock which he sacrificed on the spot in commemoration of the murder. N.

The murder of Syáwush created intense excitement in Persia, and Kaikáoos bending to the popular demand sent his general, the celebrated Rustam, with a great army to avenge his death. He besieged Rametan for two years, built Rámish opposite to it, and finally driving Afrásyáb from the country occupied it for seven years with his Persians. M.P. N.

Syáwush left a posthumous son by Farangís, named Kaikhusro, or Cyrus, who after a romantic career of infancy became King of Persia, and warred with his grandfather to avenge the death of his father. His general, Rustam, after many prodigies of valour against the troops of Chín and Khutan drove Afrásyáb from his capital, and dividing his country amongst the Persian commanders returned to the Court of Kaikhusro. Afrásyáb, however, again recovered his capital, and waged an indecisive warfare against the Persian Sovereign till Kaikhusro finally conquered Bukhárá and Samarcand, and capturing Afrásyáb slew him. His grave is said to be at the Ma'bad gate of the city where these events are commemorated amongst the people of Bukhárá in the popular ditties known as "The songs of Syáwush." M.P. N.

Kaikhusro now resigned his crown and government to his adopted son, Lohrasp, the son-in-law of Kaikáoos, and he soon exacted homage from the rulers of Tátary and China, and thus established his authority over the country of the Afrásyáb Kings. The Persian sovereignty thus established in Túrán was destroyed in the person of Dáráb II., the fifth in succession from Lohrasp, by the conquest of Alexander the Great about 330 B.C. And the Greek Bactrian kingdom founded by him in Saghd was in its turn overthrown by the invasion from the north of the Great Yuchi. M.P.

During the period from the overthrow of the Afrásyáb dynasty to the subsequent establishment of the Greek Bactrian empire the region to the east, known as Chinese Tatory, or locally as *Kéchik Bukhárá* or "Little Bukhárá," was the theatre of contest between conflicting races—the early Caucasian possessors, and invading Mughol or Mongol hordes from the extreme north. These numerous tribes of hardy mountaineers, pressed by the barbarian hosts from the north—who in later times have become prominent on the pages of history under the names of Mughol, Mánjhú or Mánchúr, Calmác or Kalmuck, Cirghiz or Kirguise, Noghay, Báshkir, Uzbek, &c.—during the long period of the Chow dynasty from 1122 to 250 B.C., when the Chinese Empire was divided into a fluctuating number of petty principalities—from 125 at one time to 41 at another—made repeated incursions into the more tempting territories of their eastern and southern neighbours, until in 253 B.C., Che Hwangtá, the first universal monarch of the empire, built the Great Wall against their destructive inroads. P. B.F.H.

Of these northern tribes the Yuchi or Tokhár, a branch of the Tungnu or Eastern Tátár people, were the most warlike and formidable. They had been driven from their lands westward to the banks of the Ila River just anterior to 200 B.C. by the Hiungnu, or Huns, under their Chief Mothe who, in his victorious career, finally conquered all the country from the borders of China on the east to the banks of the Volga on the west. The rapid rise to power of the Hiungnu alarmed the Chinese, and in the reign of Kaou-tsu, the first Emperor of the Han dynasty, from 202 to 194 B.C., they sent an army against Mothe. But it hastily retired before the vast superiority of his numbers, and the Hiungnu for 50 years maintained their supremacy.

At this time the Yuchi, pressed by the Hiungnu, separated. The lesser division or Little Yuchi passed into Tibet, whilst the greater division or Great Yuchi—the Táy Yuchi—descended upon Káshghar, Yárkand, and Khutan where, about 163 B.C., they displaced the original occupants called Sáká or Sú by the Chinese.

B.F.H. Some years later—139 B.C.—the Emperor Wooti, of the Han dynasty, sent an Envoy to the Great Yuchi for the purpose of arranging a combined movement against the Hiungnu, the common enemy of both. But at the time of his arrival, the Yuchi, being pressed by the Ussun tribe, were urged forward to the invasion of Saghd, and Táhia—the country of the Dahce—and they carried the Chinese Envoy, Chang Kian, along with them.

On this new ground the Yuchi gradually made good their stand, and—about 126 B.C.—having overthrown the decaying Greek Bactrian kingdom, drove out the Saka across the Oxus and the mountains beyond into the country drained by the Kabul river, and, establishing themselves in their place, soon spread over the province that has since been named, after their tribal appellation, Tokháristán; which includes Balkh, Cundúz, Hissár, Bolor, Wakhán, and Badakhshán.

The Envoy, Chang Kian, after a detention of ten years effected his release, and returned to China after an absence of 16 years, during which he experienced a variety of remarkable and perilous adventures, with only two survivors of the original company of 100 with which he set out. His return was welcomed with rejoicings, and, on account of the knowledge he had acquired of the western nations, he was raised to high rank, and, with Hou Kiuping as General, entrusted with the conduct of an expedition against the Hiungnu who were at that time—123-121 B.C.—contesting the possession of the several little States from Khánil round by Káshghar to Khutan against the Ouigour or Uyghúr who, since 200 B.C., had, under the name of Kuisse, taken possession of the country from the direction of Khánil.

The expedition failed, and Chang Kian was reduced from his high position to the ranks. But during this campaign his troops first saw the golden statue of Budha which was worshipped by the King of Hieai-to or Kartchou, and which was destined hereafter to be the means of introducing the new faith into China. The statue was taken and carried to the Emperor, and afterwards served as the model for others when the doctrine of Budha gained a footing in the country, as will be mentioned further on.

Wooti, though at first unsuccessful, prosecuted the war against the Hiungnu, and materially checked their career. His successor, Chaouti, followed the same policy, and finally broke their power by a signal defeat. This disaster was followed by dissensions and anarchy amongst the tribes, whilst a plague and famine coming in the wake of their protracted warfare completed the reduction of the turbulent Hiungnu, who in 60 B.C. passed under subjection to the Chinese.

Y.C. They subsequently, however, rebelled and for a season recovered their former independence, but were again subdued in 83 A.D., and, following this, the whole country was annexed to China by—94 A.D.—the capture of Káshghar. These successes were achieved by the celebrated soldier Panchao who from this crossed the mountains of Bolor, attacked the Yuchi or Tokhári, killed their King, and a few years later pushed his arms as far as the Caspian; for in 102 A.D. he sent an expedition thus far westward under Kanyng in the vain-glorious attempt to conquer the Roman Empire.

From this time forward till the period of the Arab conquest, the history of this region belongs to that of the Chinese Empire.

Whilst the Chinese were thus engaged in subjugating the territory of Káshghar, the Great Yuchi, relieved from the pressure of their old enemies, consolidated their power in their new possessions, and during the century of their settlement in Saghd and Táhia became a very numerous and powerful nation with their capital at Bukhárá.

N. This ancient city is said to have been built by Afrásyáb on the site of a former marsh formed by floods from the Másaf River, and the country around to have been settled by tribes originally coming from Turkistán under a Chief named Arawy. He settled the country, built Bekand as his capital, and Dabosy as his

castle, and planted the settlements of Núr, Kharcán, Fardánsa, Safina, Taráwjak, and N. Ayswánsa.

After a time this Arawy oppressed the people, and many of them, under a leader named Hamok = *Buzurg* = Great, emigrated to Turkistan, and there built the town of Hamokat; whilst the others, unable thus to escape from their toils, sought aid from the King of Turkistan, one Caráchorin Turk, surnamed *Byágho* = Great. He sent a vast army under his son, Sher Kishwar, who seized Arawy in Bekand, and killing him by tossing in a sack of red felt, assumed the government of the country on the part of his father.

Sher Kishwar recalled the emigrants from Hamokat, and settled them on their former lands under their own Chiefs who were called Bukhár Khidát because they were the original possessors of the country. He restored Bukhárá from the state of ruin to which it had fallen and improved the city, and planted the suburbs of Mástí, Mumástí, Sacmatín, Satmín and Farb.

After a reign of 20 years, he was succeeded by Iskajakt who built the towns of Rámetan, Darkhashi, and Shará. He received in marriage a daughter of the Emperor of China, and when she arrived at Bukhárá there came in the train of her dowry a costly idol temple resplendent in jewels, and the rarest gems which he caused to be set up at Rámetan with great ceremony and pomp.

Bukhárá at this period was a principal centre of the Zoroastrian religion, and abounded in temples for the worship of fire; whilst in the region adjoining to the east Hindoo Brahmanism flourished vigorously. The idol temple above referred to indicates the importation of a new element by the introduction of the Chinese Pantheon of mythology. Be this as it may, all three forms of worship were now shortly to be supplanted by a different religion which was pressing its way up through the passes to the south.

The Yuchi, the last Caucasian race that left the north central high land of Asia, on being pressed by the Mongolians or Huns from the north-east—about 200 B.C.—were driven from Shensi upon the Sai or Saka of Khutan and Káshghar, whom they, in turn, propelled forward to the west and south. One of these divisions from southern Tibet fell upon the Greek Bactrian State—90 B.C.—then ruled by Mithridates, and about the same time came into conflict with the Parthians whose King, Artaban, they slew. From Bactria they crossed the Paropamisus, and subdued another Greek sovereignty in Afghanistan, on the south side of the range, and passing onwards, formed a province of Sind; but, in an attempt to advance further eastward, they were routed and driven back by Vikramaditya, King of Avanti—56 B.C.

S.H.S.

Following the repulse of the Scythians south of the passes, Kheu-tsiu-hi, recognized as the Hyrcodes of the coins—39-26 B.C.—King of the Kwai-tchang, or Gouchang, or Gushan, the strongest of the five tribes into which the Great Yuchi had divided, united the other four under his rule, and pushing across the mountains, conquered Cabul, Ariana, and Gandhára. His son, Hima Kadphises of the coins, continued the father's conquests, and subdued all India west of the Jamna, and ruled from 35 to 15 B.C. His son, the celebrated Kanishka, with his brothers, Hushka and Jushka, ruled over Kashmír for sixty years.

B.F.H.

This Kanishka adopted the religion of Budha—which, though it had for three centuries before flourished in India, was only in the reign of Asoka—250 B.C.—established as the State religion here—and became its ardent supporter, so that the new doctrine was rapidly spread throughout all the Tokhári dominion. During his reign—15 B.C. to 45 A.D.—the third great Synod of Buddhist clergy was held in Káshmír, and some of the finest *stupa* or "tope" in Kabul and the Panjab were erected.

In the fourth year of the reign of Mingti, second Emperor of the Han dynasty, the capital of which was established by his predecessor, Kwangwu, at Loyang or Honanfu, His Majesty saw in a vision the apparition of a resplendent figure entering

B.F.H. his palace. A conclave of astrologers and priests was assembled to interpret the dream, and they unanimously referred the personage to Budha, of whom a golden image, as before mentioned, had already, 121 B.C., reached the country; and a mission was forthwith deputed to the Great Yuchi and to India for the purpose of studying the doctrine. The mission returned, after an absence of eleven years, with a number of Buddhist priests and books. These last were translated about 76 A.D., and thus the doctrine of Budha, already firmly established in Tokháristán and the adjoining countries, was now fairly introduced into China. It was eagerly adopted, and spread rapidly, so that in Loyang alone there were in 350 A.D. forty-two richly embellished pagodas, besides others of inferior note.

The discipline of the monks, however, was yet very imperfect; a source of sorrow to the devout disciples of the great teacher, and a cause of trouble to those charged with the maintenance of public order. To remedy these evils, one of the former class, Chi Fah Hian, set out on a pilgrimage to India to study in its native seat the law of which he was an enthusiastic follower. About the same time the Emperor, Yao Hing, 397-415 A.D., sent an army to Koutche=Kúchá, a petty principality at the foot of the mountains, and to the north-west of Lake Lob, to fetch one Kumárajívá, a learned Indian priest residing there, to instruct the native priesthood in the right way.

P. Kúchá, in early times, appears to have been the site of a large Buddhist monastery. I have been informed of the existence there at the present day of very extensive ruins, originally built of great blocks of dressed and sculptured stone. A series of chambers or galleries is said to be excavated in a hill hard by, and their interior is described as decorated with a rich variety of paintings, remarkable alike for the superiority of their execution, and the freshness of their colours. Some figures, too, are mentioned as carved on the rocks in the vicinity, and numerous sculptured fragments are found about the ruins; whilst tales are told of the marvellous size and rare excellence of the gems that are occasionally picked up amongst the *debris*.

One of these, described as '*áin-ul-harr*, or "cat's eye," the size of a hen's egg, and of a lustre equal to that of a lamp in a dark room, is said to have been found here some years ago by a poor shepherd who was murdered for the possession of the gem through the instrumentality of a China merchant by whom the ill-gotten treasure was sold to the Emperor for a fabulous sum. The unscrupulous trader, however, as the story goes, did not long enjoy his wealth; for on his return journey homeward, to spend the rest of his days in the thus ill-purchased ease, he was overtaken by a whirlwind in the passage of the desert of Gobi, and overwhelmed in a storm of sand, amidst the wild cries, shouts, and jeering laughter of the evil spirits that haunt this dread region, and, by such convulsions of the elements they rule over, flourish upon the destruction of their victims.

B.F.H. Fah Hian set out on his journey in 400 A.D., and passed from the frontier town of Chang Yeh in Kansu to Tun Wang, the Sachion of Marco Polo, in Tangut. From this he crossed the desert of Gobi to Shenshen in seventeen days, and thence in fifteen days, through the country of the Uyghúr, he came to Khutan, where he arrived in deplorable plight, after experiencing inconceivable hardships and dangers from the difficulties of the roads and rivers. At Khutan he met an hospitable reception, and found a highly flourishing Buddhist community, with ten thousand priests, many magnificent temples, commodious monasteries, and a general devotion to the rites of the religion.

With these two instances of Kúchá on the north and Khutan on the south, we may fairly understand that the Budha doctrine here found a congenial soil, took firm root, and made a rapid growth. It was not so, however, further to the east. Fah Hian returned from India by way of Ceylon and Java in 415 A.D., after an absence of fifteen years. A few years later, in 420 A.D., the Tsin dynasty was overthrown by that of the northern Wei Tatar, and during the first years of their

rule Buddhism was persecuted, and images and temples of the faith prohibited. These restrictions, however, were relaxed in 451 A.D., and one temple was allowed in each city, with permission for forty or fifty of its people to become priests. But they were placed under the special supervision of the police, since it had become a too frequent occurrence for criminals to assume the priestly garb in order to escape the punishment of their offences; and for agitators under its protecting cloak the more conveniently to prosecute their seditious schemes. The fresh impetus now acquired by the new doctrine aroused the hostility of the followers of the system of Confucius, which had been from of old the orthodox religion of the land, and many attempts were made to banish it; but, though persecuted and patronized by turns, Buddhism continued slowly and steadily to spread throughout the Wei kingdom, and finally became established with an endurance commensurate with its very gradual growth. In 518 A.D. Tai Han, Empress Dowager of the Great Wei, commissioned Sung Yun, a native of Tan Wang in Little Tibet, to proceed to India for books of the Budha doctrine; and he returned after an absence of three years with 175 volumes. But the religion had at this time become corrupted by the use of charms and magic, an innovation that found favour mostly in the camps of the ignorant Tatar nomads, and the new importation effected apparently but little amelioration.

Consequently, about a century later, 629 A.D., in the reign of Tse Tsung, second Emperor of the Tang dynasty, 620 to 904 A.D., another celebrated pilgrim set out from China to seek the true and pure doctrine in India. This was Hiouen Thsang. He set out from Liang Cheu by the old caravan route through Khámil, Turfán, and Caráshahr to Acú. Here he crossed the Múz-art—"glacier pass" to Lake Isigh Kol, and thence went on to Taráz=Turkistán, and Shásh=Táshkand, Samarcand, and Balkh. From this he continued his way by Bámyán, and Lampáka=Lamghán or Lughmán into India, whence, after an absence of sixteen years, he returned to his home by the outward route of Fah Hian through Khutan.

Whilst the Budhist doctrine, already fast decaying in India, was thus working its way to a new growth in China, the Christian religion, as represented by the Nestorian Church, was steadily advancing across the continent from the west. The activity and zeal of the early missionaries had already carried the Word far eastwards, and, so early as the fifth and sixth centuries, they had established bishoprics at Herat, Marv, and Samarcand; later at Yarkand, and finally in China itself. That of Yarkand still flourished in 1260 A.D., or 1272 A.D., when Marco Polo visited the country, and probably fell at the same time as the bishopric of Almalik or Almáligh in 1339-40 A.D., under the bigoted zeal of the usurper 'Ali Sultan, as will be noted hereafter.

The Chinese rule established over this region up to Bolor in 94 A.D., continued without interruption under Imperial Governors at the cities of Peshbalik or Beshbaligh—"The five towns," Caráshahr, Káshghar, and Khutan, until the decline of the Thang dynasty in the latter part of the ninth century when, owing to the internal divisions of the empire on the one hand, and the pressure of the conquering Arabs on the other, the border States of its distant western province gradually fell away, and became the possessions of petty local Chiefs who, to maintain the semblance of their assumed independence, preyed upon each other until they were in turn themselves swallowed up by more powerful enemies.

Khutan, however, favoured perhaps by its position, appears to have maintained a more continuous communication with China than the other States of this frontier province, and we read of Envoys with tribute going to the Imperial capital through successive centuries almost up to the period of the recovery of the ancient frontier of the empire.

In the reign of Wooti, of the Han dynasty, 140-87 B.C., Chinese officers were first sent to Khutan, whose King resided in the western town, called Changan, which contained 2,300 families, or 19,300 souls, and had an army of 2,400 men.

In the seventh year of Hian-ti, 202 A.D., Khutan sent caparisoned elephants as tribute. And in the following century, when China was divided into three

R.K. kingdoms, the States of Jounglou, Iumi, and Soule, which constituted Káshghar, belonged to Khutan.

In the ninth year of Wooti, of the Liang dynasty, 509 A.D., Envoys went with tribute to the Chinese capital, and in the annals of this reign, Khutan was then thus described :—" The people are Budhists, and their women are in society as amongst other nations. They, (the women) braid the hair into long plaits, and wear pelisses and loose trowsers. The people are very ceremonious and polite, and curtsy on meeting by bending one knee to the ground. They write with pencils of wood, and carry stone seals, and on receiving a letter raise it to the head before opening it." This description, it may be here noted, applies equally to the people of Khutan at the present day, excepting only that they are no longer Budhists, and with the addition that, when they have read their letters they invariably carry them in the folds of their turbans, or in their Tatar caps. Less than a century earlier than the above period, however, they received a very different character, and one, so far as morality is concerned, by no means inapplicable at the present day, from the officers of an expeditionary force that entered the country in pursuit of a fugitive rebel.

P. R.K. In the sixth year of Tae Wooti, of the north Wei dynasty, 445 A.D., an expedition was sent to punish the Tatars of Tangut. Their Prince, Mouliyan, fled to Khutan, and, coming into collision with its King, killed him. He was pursued, overtaken, and defeated at Yen-phing-pelan, whence he fled for refuge to the west of Khutan. The force it seems stayed here some time, and on their return the officers gave the following description of the country :—" The district of Khutan is very fertile in all sorts of grains, and abounds in mulberry and fruit trees. It possesses good horses, camels, and mules. According to the law of the country, murderers are punished by death, and other offenders according to the gravity of their crimes. For the rest the manners of the people—as the productions of the country—are analogous to those of the Koueitseu (the Kuisse or Uyghúr). They are devoted Budhists, and have a great number of temples and religious towers for the service of which they support large establishments of priests. These people, however, know neither justice nor civility, and amongst them are many thieves, and adulterers, and other villainous reprobates."

In 518 A.D., amongst the tribute offerings sent from Khutan were *vases de verre*, and in the tribute of 541 A.D. was an image of Budha, carved in jade in some foreign country. In 632 A.D., the sixth year of the reign of Tae Tsung, Khutan sent as tribute a splendid jade zone, which the Emperor acknowledged with a special letter of thanks. The State at this period appears to have considerably extended its borders, for it is described as including the regions known under the Han dynasty as Jounglou, Kanmi (Khámil), Kiule (Kúrla), and Pichán. Its rivers were noted for their jade, which was discovered by its shining in the water at night. It was fished out by diving, after the subsidence of the floods produced by the melting of the snows on the mountains.

The description of the country in the annals of this reign goes on to say that the people were Budhists, ceremonious and polite, and distinguished as clever artificers. They were fond of music and dancing, and the enjoyments of life generally. In the deserts to the west was found a species of rat, the size of a hedgehog, which travelled in troops and yielded a gold coloured fur. This little animal, I may here note, has probably long since been exterminated by the fur hunters, for it is not now known in the country. The only animal approaching its description found there at the present day is the jerboa. There was neither silk here formerly nor the mulberry tree. Both were introduced by an Eastern Princess, who secreted their seeds in her bonnet when she went as bride to the King, who had long vainly sought to get possession of them by other means. The letters, literature, and laws of Khutan are derived from the Hindus, and their influence has been to civilize the people. The ancient name of Khutan is Kiusa-tan-na from the Sanskrit Kustana, which signifies "Pap of the world," in connection with the Hindu legend regarding

the importation of the Brahma creed to this region. The other names under which Khutan appears in Chinese writings are Iuthian, Iu-tun, Iu-siun, Hou-an-na, Khiou-tan, and Hou-tan or Hotan. R.K.

In the reign of Kao-tsung, 650-655 A.D., an expedition under Assena Cheni against the Kouei-tseu of Beshbaligh terrified all the States on the western frontier, and Fou-che-siu, the King of Khutan, went in person to the capital with a tribute-offering of three hundred camels. He was well received and granted the title of "General of the Right," whilst his son was appointed "Commander of the Cavalry of the Right." After a detention of some months he was sent back to his government, but his son and younger brothers were detained as hostages at the Imperial Court.

In 665 A.D. the Koung-youei of Káshghar and the Tibetans made a joint attack on Khutan and Sitcheou, but the places were delivered from them by the aid of the "General of the Left," whose Government was most probably, I may here note, at Almáligh on the north of the Tian-shan range. About this period envoys with tribute were sent more frequently and regularly, and in 717 A.D., the fifth year of Yuan Sung, presented, amongst other native products, a wild camel "swift as the wind." In 760 A.D. the son of the King of Khutan, who was an officer in the Emperor's palace, was made administrator of his native country. And again in 780 A.D., the first year of Kian Chang, an officer of the palace was sent to Khutan for *iu*="jade" ornaments. He made a great collection, and, loading the precious freight on camels, set out on his return, but was misled on the route, and plundered by his ruffianly Hoi-he guides. He himself managed to escape to Eu-cheu, where he died from the effects of the hardships endured on the journey. It was long after this period that these prized objects of art, hitherto only attainable by royalty and nobility, began to reach China as articles of commerce.

In 938 A.D., the third year of Kao-tsu, of the second Tsin dynasty, the King of Khutan, Li-ching-thian, sent with his tribute red salt, native gold, *li*="yák" or wild ox tails, *iu*=jade, and cotton-cloth. The Emperor in return sent a high court official, Kao-khiu-hoei, to notify his confirmation in the Government of "the very precious" kingdom of Khutan. He journeyed by the Chachan route, found the King dressed in the Chinese fashion, and the religion Buddhism. He noted that the country produced several good kinds of wine; that the people cultivated gardens and flowers; and that they ate rice cooked with honey. He observed, too, that there were many Tibetans in the country, and that they were always at hostility with the natives.

In 961 A.D. the Khutan tribute included jade and crystal; and ten years later an elephant captured in war against Káshghar; most likely, I may here note, in the war against Sultan Satoc Bughra Khan, King of Káshghar, the first notable convert to the doctrine of Muhammad in this region, and its most violent propagandist, as will appear further on. In 1081 A.D. the tribute from Khutan comprised pearls, coral, ivory, camphor, and mercury; all for the first time now sent, and indicating an increase of trade with India. Four years later, a live tiger, captured in the country, accompanied the tribute for the Emperor's acceptance; but as no body about the palace could be found to manage the savage brute, the offering was declined. Later, in 1406 A.D., during the Ming dynasty, Khutan, whose King was now entitled He-han=Kho-han=Khácán, sent envoys with tribute; and in the annals of the reign, recording this fact, the country is described as a royal kingdom which, from the time of the Han dynasty to that of the Sung, has not ceased to be *en rapport* with China.

In 1420 A.D. Khutan, Haliei, and Patahechang=Badakhshán, sent horses as tribute. At this period such embassies from the extreme frontier States were of very frequent occurrence owing to the facilities they afforded for smuggling merchandize through the frontier Custom-Houses. Their real object, as a mere cloak for purposes of trade, was soon recognized by the Chinese Government, and, since the large number of foreigners entering the country in the train of the Envoys gave rise to

R.K. numerous disputes, and much inconvenience, orders were issued for placing them under severe restrictions; and the operation of these regulations soon led to their discontinuance.

Towards the close of the Youan dynasty, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the country was disturbed by anarchy, and the trade route remained closed till the restoration of order in the beginning of the following century, when trade again flowed in the old channels. It was the re-opening of the commercial intercourse which had been closed for half a century, and the insecurity attending the journey by caravan at first, that led to the device of the trading embassies abovementioned.

I have introduced the preceding notes on the history of Khutan, as furnished by Chinese records, because they serve in some measure to dispel the general obscurity that veils the course of events in this region during the long period of its rule under the Chinese Governors, and, subsequently, under the petty independent Princes who had thrown off their subjection to that Empire; and because they help to elucidate and confirm the later history of the region, which only begins to clear up on the arrival of the Arabs in the fertile and populous valley of the Oxus, when the chain of events becomes more connected with the succeeding establishment of their rule and religion there.

The astonishing successes of these wild sons of the desert in their conquering career through Persia were hardly more wonderful than the rapid domination of their arms, and its concurrent supremacy of creed in the very heart of Asia. So early as the 53rd year of the *Hijra*—673 A.D., the Khálif M'úáwya sent forward his General, 'Abdulla Ziyád, to the conquest of Khurásán, which at that period included Bukhárá, notwithstanding its position beyond the Oxus, the recognized ancient limit of the province.

N. The city of Bukhárá, which in ancient times was known by the names of Namajkat, and Barmaskat, and Cuhnduz, was at this period in the hands of a Turk Prince called Baydon, and entitled Bukhár-Khidát. He died about the time of the appearance of the Arabs on the borders of Khurásán, and was succeeded in the Government by his widow, the Queen Kháton, who reigned fifteen years during the infancy of her son Tughsháda. She was celebrated alike for her beauty, wealth, and talents, and, as history records, for her amours. Her rule was popular, her Court magnificent, and her wealth prodigious. She is described as daily riding out from her palace to her Court in the Registán, forenoon and afternoon, attended by a gorgeous retinue of slave-girls and eunuchs, for the transaction of public business, the dispatch of justice; and the distribution of rewards and punishments. In the interval between the two sessions she retired to her palace, whence long files of servants presently issued with trays of food and delicacies for the refectation of her courtiers. The royal guard at the Court comprised a choice band of two hundred noble youths, all richly clad and fully armed, who came in rotation daily from the townships around, so that it fell to the lot of each to attend the Court on this duty four times in the year.

It was during the reign of this Queen that the Arabs first crossed the Jyon or Oxus. The rapid approach of 'Abdulla Ziyád with his terrible warriors filled the people with apprehension and alarm. Queen Kháton sent off messengers in hot haste for aid from Turkistan, north and east, and meanwhile sought to keep off the invader by rich gifts and sweet words. Her summoned allies arrived opportunely, and at once fell upon the enemy, who was already in the suburbs of the capital spreading fire and sword amongst the unwarlike and terrified farmers. The Arabs were now vastly outnumbered by the hosts of their assailants, but the impetuous fury of their warriors counterbalanced the paucity of numbers, and the Turk army in this their first encounter with the soldiers of the west received an unexpected check, and defeat.

'Abdulla captured Bekand and Rámetan, and then set siege to Bukhárá. The Queen, who had escaped from the battle field with the loss of a richly bejewelled boot, valued at 10,000 *diram*, fortified herself in the citadel, whilst her allies from

without pressing around, the Arab Commander was content to retire on payment of a million *diram*, and recrossed the Oxus, carrying away with him 4,000 captives. N.

For his failure at Bukhára, 'Abdulla Ziyád was removed from the command in Khurásán in 56 H.=676 A.D., and S'aíd bin'Uthmán appointed in his place. He immediately renewed the campaign against Bukhára. Again her allies rallied round the Queen with a host of 120,000 men collected from all Turkistan and Káshghar, but, in their first encounter with the Arabs, they were seized with a panic and dispersed in confusion. The Queen offered to buy off the invader with most liberal terms, but S'aíd left the money in her keeping for safe custody till his return from Saghd, whither his victorious troops were pursuing the fugitives to Samarcand, and meanwhile took eighty hostages as security. Amongst these, the historian records, Queen Kháton got rid of some obnoxious nobles who had spoken disparagingly with reference to her familiarity with one of the late King's domestics, and had threatened to oust the bastard Tughsháda in favour of a legitimate Prince. S'aíd, on his return from Samarcand, and departure for Khurásán, carried these hostages away with him, together with a thousand other captives taken in the war. They were ultimately taken to Medina, and there set to till the land as slaves, but, rising in rebellion, they killed S'aíd, and were themselves slain in revenge.

M'uáwya was succeeded as Khálif by his son Yazíd. He appointed Muslim bin Ziyád Viceroy of Khurásán, and he at once proceeded with vigour to prosecute the war across the Oxus. On this Queen Kháton sent her agents abroad to summon her allies, and by way of determining the hesitation of Tarkhon, the Prince of Saghd, who had so severely suffered at the hands of S'aíd, sent him a proposal to share her bed, and the government of the country, on conditions that he came and drove back the Arabs. Tempted by the offer, he joined the army coming from Turkistán under Bandon, the *Malik* or Prince of that country, and with it camped on the Kharcám Rud River in the vicinity of the city. But the Queen in the interim had opened the gates to Muslim, and submitting herself to him secured, by the grant to him of the favours she had offered to others, a measure of leniency for her followers and subjects that excited surprise, and brought no little ridicule upon the rough Arabian soldier's susceptibility to the charms of the sex. The allies, however, disapproving the Queen's conduct, attacked the Arabs with all their force, but were discomfited with the loss of 400 slain, and their leader, Malik Bandon, amongst the number. They rallied, however, under Malik Tarkhon, and renewed hostilities till the invaders, finding it unsafe to remain longer without support, were content to exact a profession of *Islám*, and a heavy indemnity; on the payment of which they again retired across the Oxus.

Following this Cutaiba bin Muslim was appointed Viceroy of Khurásán. He continued the war against Bukhára, and conquered all Tokháristán. He crossed the Oxus in 88H.=707 A.D. to Bekand, which he took after a siege of fifty-days, and, leaving a garrison under Warca to hold it, marched on towards the capital. The Arabs left behind, following the example of their commandant, who had laid violent hands on the two beautiful daughters of one of the most influential Chiefs of the place, worried the citizens so by their lawlessness that they rose in revolt, and slew Warca and many of his men. On hearing of this Cutaiba hastened back, and took a summary vengeance by a general massacre of all those capable of bearing arms, and the plunder and destruction of all their temples. He sacked the town, and levelled its walls, and, finally, carried off the survivors captive in his army, amongst the soldiery of which they were distributed.

At the time of this destruction of Bekand many of its most wealthy merchants and other heads of families were absent on their trading business at Káshghar and the cities on the Chinese frontier; and when they returned, they sought out and ransomed their families, their wives, and their daughters from the Arab captors, and rebuilt their ancient town upon its ruins. The circumstance is noted as a remarkable occurrence, owing to the rapidity with which a town of such extent, and so thoroughly

N. destroyed, was restored to its former comfort and prosperity; and, whilst it is certainly indicative of the persevering industry and enterprise of the people, suggests the possession of wealth and the existence of an extensive and profitable trade with China.

In the plunder of this prosperous commercial town Cutaiba took a vast store of gold and silver, and, amongst other valuables, two rare pearls, each the size of a pigeon's egg, found in one of the idol temples. These last he sent as an offering to Hajáj with the letter announcing his victory. The Khálif in acknowledgment gracefully expressed his astonishment more at the rarity of his General's honesty than of his precious offering.

After the destruction of Bekand, the Arabs successively reduced Khabnon, Fáráb, and Wardána; and then Cutaiba found himself surrounded, and cut off from communication with Khurásán, by the numerous armies pouring in from the east and north to the aid of Bukhárá. Amongst the leaders of these troops were Malik Tarkhon of Saghd, the Jand Khidát, and the Wardána Khidát, and Malik Gormughánon, Turk, who was sister's son of the *Faghfur*—Emperor of China.

Cutaiba was thus hemmed in for four months, and was finally extricated from his difficulty by the address of one of his councillors—the *Maulá* Hayán Nabti, who opened a communication with Tarkhon, and so artfully played upon his fears, by representing in exaggerated terms the dangers that threatened him from the vast numbers of his foreign allies, that he soon succeeded in obtaining from him a nominal tender of submission with the payment of 2,000 *diram* as tribute, and thus effected a dissolution of the Turk confederation. The allies, finding that Tarkhon had retired from the field, broke from each other, and retraced their steps to their respective countries, plundering all the way; and the Arabs, thus set free, marched upon Bukhará, where they levied a heavy indemnity, and then returned across the Oxus to Marv.

Cutaiba made four successive campaigns against Bukhárá, with whose deposed Queen he carried on an amour, that has supplied the historians of the time with many amusing anecdotes. His last campaign was in 94H. = 712 A.D., when he established Tughsháda in the government, and fixed the yearly tribute at 40,000 *diram* for the Khálif, and 10,000 *diram* for the Amír of Khurásán. At this time, too, owing to the habitual relapsing of the people from the newly enforced faith to their old idolatry, he distributed his Arabs amongst the citizens—one in each household—the more effectually to convert the people by example and to teach them the rites and doctrines of the new religion. He ordered also that they should share equally with the family in food and raiment, to be supplied free of cost at the expense of the town. These measures proved extremely distasteful to the citizens, who naturally at first opposed them; but the force of summary and severe examples speedily cowed them to submission, though 700 families of a sect called Kashkasha, who are described as a wealthy mercantile community, abandoned their dwellings in the city, and formed a settlement of huts outside its walls. These in the course of years grew into a suburb called afterwards *Kosh Mughan*—"Dwelling of fire-worshippers." It is probable, I may here note, that these Kashkasha (query *Kashisha*—Christian priest) were Christians, and not, as the name afterwards given to their settlement would imply, Zoroastrians, because in this last campaign Cutaiba destroyed every emblem of idolatry in the place, and on the site of the great idol temple built the Jumá Masjid or Friday Mosque, whilst he suppressed any outward signs of adherence to idolatry by the only arguments known to *Islam*, by death or tribute.

V. B. In the year following this settlement of Bukhárá, Cutaiba invaded the province of Farghána, and thence crossing the Tirik Dawán or "Sweating Pass" into Káshghar—at that time occupied by the Uyghúr—ran his expedition as far as Turfán on the Chinese frontier of Kánsuh. Here he received intelligence of the death of the Khálif Walíd, and consequently, retracing his steps, returned to Marv where he was killed in a plot by his enemies at the end of 98H. = 716A.D., aged 47 years.

The new convert Tughsháda, who was appointed Bukhár-Khidát by Cutaiba, in gratitude for the favour, named his first born son after his patron. This Cutaiba bin Tughsháda was in after years executed at Samarcand by Abú Muslim, in the time of Nasr bin Sayyár, the Viceroy of Khurásán, for apostacy and rebellion in joining the insurrection of the Shía against the Sunni, which marked the early rivalry of these great Muhammadan sects in the early period of their progress here. And ten years later, Tughsháda himself, who had always been but a doubtful convert, was assassinated at the instigation of the same Abú Muslim in the presence of Nasr, who was at that time at Samarcand; and the historian records that his servants coming in cut the flesh from the body and carried away the bones to Bukhárá. Nasr Sayyár, at this period, subjugated Farghána and, pushed an expedition across the pass into Káshghar, but without any more stable result than a useful reconnoissance of the country.

Tughsháda, at the time of his death, had reigned 32 years, and was succeeded in the government of Bukhárá by his second son, Sukán, who was assassinated in his palace at Farakhsha by his Arab Wazír on account of his relapse to idolatry and drunken habits. His brother, Banyát, then became Bukhárkhidát. He joined the rebellion of the *Sufed Jamahán*—"White clads," the followers of the "Veiled Prophet" or Mucanna' in the time of the Khálif Mahdi, and was captured and slain in his palace at Warkhshi in 166H.=782 A.D.

In that year Abú 'Abbás was appointed Viceroy of Khurásán by the Khálif Mahdi, the father of the famous Harún Arrashid. He held his Court at the then capital of the province—Marv, and received many, complaints of the frequent inroads of the pagan Turk upon the Saghd and Bukhárá lands. They had recently raided Sámdún and carried off many of its people into slavery, and a deputation of the Chiefs consequently went to Marv to represent their grievance and seek protection. Abú 'Abbás consulted them as to the best means of providing against the evil, and on the suggestion of Yazíd bin Ghorak, Malik of Saghd, who said that an ancient Princess of the country had protected her territories from such inroads by a great barrier wall built along the frontier, gave orders for the construction all along the frontier of a defensive wall, with a gate and turret at every half mile. The wall was at once commenced by Amir Muhtahid bin Hamadi, the Governor of Bukhárá, and was finished in 215H.=830 A.D., when Amir Muhammad bin Mansúr was the Governor. It was maintained in repair by the labour of the people till the time of the Amir Ismáil Sámání, who relieved them of the burthen, and the wall then soon fell to neglect and decay.

After the death of Banyát the government of Bukhárá fell to the hands of successive members of the family. The last of the Bukhár Khidat was Abú Ishác, bin Ibráhim, bin Khálid, bin Banyát, from whom the government passed into the hands of the Sámání family.

The founder of this great family was a Zoroastrian of the village of Sámán, and traced his descent from the celebrated Bahrám Chobín. He had been ousted from the government of Balkh, and sought redress at the hands of the Viceroy of Khurásán, Asad bin 'Abdulla. He restored him to the government on his professing *Islám*, and the Sámání, in proof of his sincerity and gratitude, named his first son after his patron and friend. This Asad had four sons, *viz.*, Núh, Ahmad, Yahyá, and Ilyás, who all subsequently took prominent positions in the government.

When Rafí bin Laith of Sistán seized Samarcand, Hárún Arrashid sent Harithma bin, Ayán with an army against him. He failed, however, to recover the city, and Mámún—at this time joining Hárún in Khurásán—called on the sons of Asad to aid his General. They in consequence intervened, and effected a settlement between Rafí and Harithma, and thus pacified Hárún, who feared the loss of all Khurásán.

Shortly after this Hárún died at Tús=Mashhad, and Mámún succeeded as Khálif. He appointed 'Asá bin 'Ubád Viceroy of Khurásán, and bid him provide for the sons of Asad in reward for their good service. Accordingly Núh was made

N. Governor of Samarcand, Ahmad of Farghána, Yahya of Táshkand, and Ilyás of Herat. On the death of Núh in 192 H.=807 A.D., Ahmad succeeded to the Government of Samarcand, and on his death, 250 H.=864 A.D., his son, Nasr, succeeded, and, on the first of *Ramazán* in the following year, was appointed Viceroy of the newly-constituted province of Máwaránahar, or Transoxiana, by the Khalif Wáthic Billah.

In the revolt of Y'acúb bin Laith of Sistán, Nasr, aided by his younger brother, Ismáíl, recovered Bukhárá from the rebel, and in Ramazán 260 H.=873 A.D. appointed him its Governor. By this victory Nasr established his authority over all Turkistán, and in the same year received, from the Khálif Muwaffic Billah, a new patent, appointing him Viceroy of Máwaránahar, from the Jyhon or Oxus to Acsá-i-Bilád-i-Mashric or "The extreme cities of the East."

The two brothers after this quarrelled, and each had the *Khutba*="Friday prayer for the reigning family," read in his own name, and Ismáíl further withheld the revenue of 50,000 *diram* due yearly from Bukhárá. On this Nasr at Samarcand summoned his brothers from Farghána and Táshkand with their troops and Turk levies, and marched against Bukhárá in *Rajab* 272 H.=winter of 885-6 A.D., but, before coming into collision, they were reconciled by Harithma, who had crossed the Oxus on the ice to the aid of Ismáíl, and now persuaded them all to return to their respective Governments; a step they were the more ready to adopt on account of the severe losses they had experienced in men and cattle from the intense cold and scarcity of supplies.

Three years later, however, the brothers again broke into hostilities, and Nasr, marching against Bukhárá, was met and defeated by Ismáíl at Dih Wárz on Tuesday, 15th *Jamádi Akhír* 275 H.=888 A.D. On this occasion Nasr fell into the hands of Ismáíl who, treating him with an unlooked-for deference and respect, begged his speedy return to his own Government, lest the people hearing of his disaster should rise in revolt against him. Nasr lauded his brother's magnanimity in tears, and avowing that he had expelled from his heart all feeling of animosity against him, hastened back to Samarcand, where he died four years later.

Ismáíl now advanced and took possession of Samarcand, and from that as a base prosecuted a *ghazá*="crescentade" on the Turk frontier. In 280 H.=893 A.D. he captured and annexed Taráz=Turkistán, a populous and wealthy frontier city that had long been frequented as a mart of exchange by Turk, Christian, Muhammadan, and Chinese merchants, and, exacting a general profession of Islám converted its great *Kalisiya*="Christian Church" into a "Friday Mosque," in which he had the *khutba* read in the name of the Khalif M'utasid Billah, and finally returned to Bukhárá laden with a rich plunder. Whilst he was engaged in this "meritorious" war for the diffusion of Islám, Ismáíl, in *Muharram* 280 H., received a patent from the Khálif confirming him as Viceroy in succession to Nasr. Its arrival was opportune, and stimulated the Muslims to the successes above indicated, and to less successful efforts to force the creed across the passes to the eastward; in which direction the way for the Faith was prepared by the persuasive eloquence of their merchant Missionaries years before its forcible establishment at the point of the sword.

Seven years of active religious propagandism on the Turkistán frontiers had elapsed, when Ismáíl, who during this period had acquired an undefined sort of authority over the States of Káshghar, was involved in the war against 'Umro Laith, whom, after a short and decisive campaign, he captured at Balkh, 288 H.=901 A.D., and two years later sent prisoner to Baghdad. For this service he received from the Khalif M'utasid Billah a fresh patent of sovereignty over the countries of Khurásán to the frontiers of Sind and Hind, and Máwaránahar and Turkistán. Following this he prosecuted a campaign in Tabaristán, and annexing the province returned to Bukhárá, 291 H.=903-4 A.D., the sovereign of an empire that extended from Ray, Cazwín, Ispahan, and Shiráz on the west to the vallies of the Tián-shán on the

east, and from the borders of the great desert on the north to the Persian Gulf N. on the south.

Ismail Sámání was a just and firm ruler, and, though a sincere Muhammadan, a liberal patron of his native literature; and during his reign the Persian language was revived in its former purity, after two centuries of suppression by the Arabs. After a prosperous and glorious rule of thirty years, the last eight as Viceroy of Khurásán and Máwaránahar, he sickened, and died at Zarmán, whither he had been carried for change of air, on the 15th *Safar* 295 H.=907 A.D. He is known in history as the Amír Mází=past Prince. His son, Ahmad, succeeded to the throne. He subdued a revolt in Sístán, and on his return, whilst on a hunting excursion on the banks of the Jyhon, received intelligence of the revolt of Tabaristán. The news so disturbed his mind that it disarmed his usual precaution, and the tiger, habitually chained at the entrance to his chamber as a guard at night, was on this occasion forgotten; and his slaves, seizing the opportunity, entered and beheaded him, at the instigation of one of his own family, on Thursday, 11th *Jamadi Akhír* 301 H.=913-4 A.D. He reigned six years and four months, and is called Amír Shahíd=martyr Prince.

Abúl Hasan Nasr, his son, succeeded at the age of ten years. His reign was disturbed by revolts in the western provinces, and noted for a conflagration at the capital, which lasted three days, *Rajab* 325 H.=936 A.D., and was seen at Samarcand. The greater part of the city was destroyed, together with the palace, full of treasures and rarities of art, which all perished in the flames. Bukhárá has never since, it is said, recovered its former magnificence. Abúl Hasan Nasr died after a reign of thirty-one years in *Shabán* 331 H.=942 A.D. He is called Amír Sáíd=prosperous Prince. His son, Núh, succeeded. His reign was disturbed by anarchy, and a serious revolt at Marv. Order was not restored till 341 H.=952 A.D., and he died, having reigned twelve years, a couple of years later in *Rabí Akhír* 343 H. He is called Amír Hamíd=laudable Prince.

He was succeeded by his son, 'Abdul Malik, aged ten years, who reigned seven, and was killed by a fall from horseback at the game *Chaugán*="hockey" in *Shawál* 350 H.=961 A.D. He is called Amír Rashíd=intelligent Prince.

His brother, Mansúr, succeeded, but was at first opposed by Ulaptakin, the Governor of Nishábor, who seized Balkh. He relinquished this "material guarantee," however, and consented to the succession, on the tribute of 50,000 *diram* being paid, as before, to Nishábor. Mansúr, on the other hand, subsequently exacted from the Dailami or Dilami Chief of Fars and Irác a similar annual tribute. He died after a disturbed reign of fifteen years and five months on Sunday, the 16th *Muharram* 365 H.=976 A.D., and is called Amír Shadíd=impetuous Prince.

His son, Núh, called Amír Sàid Abúl Cásim, succeeded. His reign was characterised by general anarchy and confusion. The border province revolted, and the Samání power quickly declined. Abú Alí Samchor, the Governor of Khurásán, revolted, and joining with Faik, the deposed Governor of Herat and Balkh, invited Bughra Khán, Chief of the Uyghúr Tatár of Káshghar, to attack Bukhárá. This he did, and, driving Abúl Cásim out, took possession of his capital. He did not long enjoy his success, however, for he almost immediately sickened with a fever, and, hastening to regain his native air, died a few stages out from the city. His army retraced its steps to Farghana and Káshghar, and Abúl Cásim on its departure returned to his capital, and, recovering his power, drove his refractory nobles out of the country into Khurásán. Here they raised a strong party, and, securing the aid of the Dilami Prince, renewed their hostility. Abúl Cásim, on this, unable alone to cope with their combined forces, called to his aid Subuktakin, the newly established independent Prince of Ghazni, and with him attacked and routed the rebels at Herat. After this Abúl Cásim was forced once more to seek the aid of Subuktakin against a threatened attack by the rising Iylik Khan, son of Bughra Khan, at the instigation of the restless Faik. On this occasion the threatened

N. invasion was staved off, and Faik provided for by the Government of Samarcand. Peace did not long endure, for on the death of Abú Cásim a contested succession, and intestine broils soon led to the division of the Sámání empire, or what remained of it, between the two great Tatar Chiefs of the time, between Mahmúd, the son of Subuktakin of Ghazni, and Iylik Khan, the son of Bughra Khan of Kashghar. The latter, who had extended his possessions to Khiva or Khwáhrizm, now seized Bukhárá, and taking prisoner Abdul Malik, the last reigning Prince of the Sámání dynasty, sent him to his capital at Orgənj, where he died.

P. It will be seen by the preceding sketch of the history of the Muhammadan power during the first three centuries of its rule in Máwaránahar, that it from the very commencement, notwithstanding the opposition the Arabs here experienced, and the check the rapid progress of their arms through Persia here received, made its weight felt upon the independent States of Turkistan to the north and east; and thus acquired a steadily growing influence, which aided, as it materially was, through the channels of trade, in after times facilitated the spread of the faith and rule over those wide regions, whence the former ultimately penetrated to, and took root in the furthest limits of the Chinese Empire; where it has so flourished that in our own day we find it aspiring to seize the supreme control of the Government, and the sovereignty of the country, a struggle that is still proceeding at this day.

The first expedition of Cutaiba along the southern skirts of the Allah Tágh, or Tianshán, or Tangrí Ula, or God Mountains, as they are called in Arabic, Chinese, Mongol, and English respectively, the "Celestial Mountains" of European Orientalists, up to Turfán, opened the way to Islám; and the next expedition of Nasr bin Sayyár kept it so; till, in the time of the native Sámání rule, the relations thus commenced were naturally more freely extended and improved, and presently, 260 H.—873 A.D., led to the subjugation of the country in the reign of Nasr, the first Prince of that dynasty, which on the decline of the Khiláfat or Khálifat rose to divide the Persian soil with the Dilami.

The nature of this subjugation, however, appears to have been more nominal than real, and, in the absence of an absolute authority, the creed made but little general progress against the quiet and resolute opposition of the Budhists and Christians; and this even in the cities where its forcible profession was more easy of accomplishment; whilst in the rural districts and nomad camps it found no footing whatever.

We find, indeed, that Islám was not even nominally established in the country till nearly the last quarter of the next century, when a Prince of the hereditary ruling family of Bughra Khan at Kashghar, becoming a convert to the faith, enforced it upon his subjects at the point of the sword, in the face of a determined and protracted opposition which prevented its spread beyond the limits of his own territory and immediate authority. It was only now, on the downfall of the Sámání dynasty, that Islám, through the proselitizing zeal of the successors of that family—of Mahmúd in the direction of Hindustan, and of Iylik Khan in the direction of Turkistan—received a fresh impetus, and was extended south, east, and north with a rapidity only equalled by the violence employed, and with an endurance not less remarkable.

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The account of the first introduction of this religion into Káshghar, as given in the *Tazkira Bughra Khan*, which is a history of the Islamite martyrs and saints in this country translated into Uyghúr Turki from the original Persian by Shekh Attar, is an absurdly distorted figment of the preisthood built upon a foundation of fact. The eighth chapter of this book is devoted to the history of Abú Nasr Sámání, at whose hands, it is said, the Prince above alluded to was converted; and as its style is characteristic, I here introduce a summarized version of it.

"Abú Nasr Sámání was a very devout and holy man, and versed in all sorts of kingly knowledge. He was virtuous and gentle, and a strict *Musalman*, who never diverged from the way of the law of the Prophet. He was a merchant, and devoted all the profits of his trade to charity amongst the Musalmáns, of whom he fed and

clothed the destitute and homeless. One day he purposed starting on a journey to replenish his funds and extend the sphere of his charities, but the Prophet came to him in a vision, and bid him postpone his departure till such time as he should appoint, when he would also indicate the direction he should take. Abú Nasr, greatly rejoiced and highly honored by the Prophet's favour, abandoned his proposed journey, and for six years devoted himself to the service of God and the performance of religious exercises. At the end of this time the Prophet again appeared before him, and bid him prepare for a journey to Turkistán, where was a chosen servant of God, one Sátoc Bughra Khan, who would convert the people to Islám. Abú Nasr, again, for six years devoted himself to the rigid worship of God, and was aided, comforted, and supported by the pure spirit of the Prophet who, at the end of this time, once more visited him in a trance, and giving him his blessing bid him rise, and depart for Turkistán.

Abú Nasr took his son, Khwajah Abúl Fattáh, and set out on his way, and, going from city to city, arrived at Andiján. Everywhere he asked for Sátoc Bughra Khan, and at last a certain person informed him that a youth of that name resided at Káshghar, and was notorious on account of his wisdom, for, though as yet but a mere child, none of the elders and wise men could controvert his speech.

From Andijan Abú Nasr set out with a caravan of three hundred merchants, and after some days arrived at Káshghar, where he found the object of his search, and, after a short conversation, brought him into the fold of Islám.

Abú Nasr devoted ten years to the instruction and conversion of Sátoc, and in this period made seven thousand of the people Musalmans, and taught seventy of them to be priests. He lived eighty years, and followed the teachings of the "Commander of the Faithful" Abúbakar Sadic, and attained to the dignity of *Uwais*, which is a spiritual quality inferior to that of Prophet, but superior to that of Saint. He also towards the end of his life attained to the rare quality of *Cutub*, and became endowed with all knowledge both visible and invisible, temporal and spiritual. The number of this special rank is limited to forty at any one time throughout the world.

Shekh Najmuddin Attár was the first to discover that Abú Nasr had attained this exalted dignity. The new *Cutub* now retired from the world, and spent six months in seclusion as an ascetic. At length one day *Cábiz-ul-arwáh* = "the seizer of souls," that is the angel Isráil, appeared and bid him restore his soul to God. "Take me," said Abú Nasr, "My wish is to go to God. I have no business with this earthly frame." He drew his mantle over him, and, stretching his legs out straight, faced towards Mecca. His servants, surprised at the unusual attitude, drew near, and, finding him dead, broke into loud wails and sore laments. They informed his son, Abúl Fattáh, and his adopted child, Sátoc Bughra Khan, and they all assembled, and mourned over the corpse. A disciple asked of Sátoc, who was to wash the body. He replied "the body itself knows." That disciple knelt by the corpse, and repeated the question. And a voice from its chest said "let Najmuddin, with my sons, wash me." They accordingly washed and laid out the body, and buried it at Mashhad in Artosh 350 H. = 960 A.D. The funeral was attended by 10,700 common people, and the prayers were recited by 5,000 dervishes and ascetics."

Such are the most noteworthy points in the history of Abú Nasr Sámání, as given in this eighth chapter of the book above mentioned. The following chapter gives the history of Hazrat Sultan Satoc Bughra Khan Ghazí, and may be summarized in this wise:—

"Hazrat Sultan Satoc Bughra Khan Ghazi was born in 333 H.=944 A.D. At the age of twelve years he accepted Islam, and was the first convert in Turkistán. On the day of his birth, though it was midwinter, the earth quaked, and springs burst forth and flowed on the surface of the ground; flowers bloomed and trees budded. The wise men and elders were concerned at these signs of commotion in nature, and predicted the destruction of their religion by the new-born Prince, and the establishment of Islam in place of their ancient native institutions. They consequently

T.B.K. sought to kill him. The infant's mother bid them wait till he grew up, and then to kill him if he turned Musalman.

Satoc was six years old when his father, Tangri Cadír Bughra Khan, died (during an expedition against Bukhárá). His widowed mother and himself then passed to the protection of Harún Bughra Khan, the surviving brother and successor to the throne. He educated his nephew as an idolator till he was twelve years old. At this time Satoc, with forty attendants, one day went out a hunting. A hare started from under a thorny bush, and Satoc, bow in hand, giving chase, got separated from the others. The hare now suddenly stopped, and assumed the form of a man, and thus addressed the youth:—"Come, my son! I am waiting for you. God be praised! I have found you alone. Come nigh me. I have a few words to say. Dismount." Satoc, amazed at what he saw and heard, dismounted, and knelt before the figure, which speaking, said, "My son! Why continue in such idolatry? You know that your Creator's name is Muhammad. Walk in his way."

Sátoc considered within himself "What man is this who speaks thus? There is no such person here. Where does he come from?" Wondering in this fashion he turned to the figure and said, "What have you been saying to me? Oh venerable sage!" The figure replied, "My son! Oh blessed youth! I wish not your tender body in hell fire. The thought grieves me." Sátoc enquiring asked, "Oh venerable sage! What sort of place is hell?" And the sage replied, "My child! Hell is a place of much fire, and full of scorpions, where unbelievers and sinners are consigned, and tortured in all manners of ways."

Fear seized the heart of Sátoc, and he said, "Speak! Venerable sage! I will repeat what you say." The sage pronounced the form of creed, "there is no God but God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God." Sátoc in return asked, "What are these words, and what do they mean?" The sage, in answer, said, "My son! Repeating these words you become a Musalmán, and go to Paradise, where are beautiful maids and youths, and wine. Refusing them you go to hell, and suffer all its terrible torments." Sátoc thereupon repeated the creed, and accepted Islám. The sage then informed him that there was much to learn as he grew up, and that his teacher would shortly arrive and conduct him into the perfect way. Some say that this sage was *Dajál-ul-ghaib Khoja Zinda*, the *Wazír* or Minister of Iskandar Pádsháh, and others that he was an angel; but the truth is, he was the prophet Khizr. And he suddenly vanished from the sight of the bewildered Sátoc, who was now rejoined by his attendants, from whom he kept the occurrence secret.

Some days later Sátoc again went a hunting with his forty attendants to the Uston Artosh or "Upper Artosh," and at Búcu found a caravan of well clad and highly favoured foreigners camped on the meadow. He drew near to see who they were, and one of their party, followed by a few attendants, came forward to meet him. This was Abú Nasr who, at once recognizing the object of his search, turned to his followers, and, praising God, told them that the sole purpose of his journey was to meet this noble youth, and that now the whole desire of his heart was accomplished. He bid them open their loads and bring out some offerings worthy the acceptance of the illustrious Prince. In the midst of this was heard the sonorous chaunt of the *'azzán* or Muhammadan "call to prayer." The boxes and loads were instantly left open as they happened to be, and the strangers assembled round a leader to perform their devotions. Abú Nasr, on their conclusion, returned to Sátoc, whom he found dismounted, and standing lost in mute amazement. He approached and gave him the *salám*, and then, respectfully embracing the noble youth, invited him to his tent, where he presented some rarities as an offering of good-will.

Sátoc accepted the presents, and asked the donor's name. On hearing it he at once knew him as "the teacher" the prophet Khizr had spoken of, and he straightway sought an explanation of the extraordinary and impressive sight he had witnessed; asking what was the meaning of the prayers and genuflexions, and adorations which the whole company, leaving their property open and unguarded in a strange place and foreign country, had assembled to perform together.

Abú Nasr, in reply, briefly explained the tenets and ordinances of Islám. He then described this world as transitory, man as a frail being, riches as his bane, and infidelity as the cause of his ruin. He expatiated on the delights and pleasures of Paradise, and enlarged in comparison therewith upon the pains and torments of Hell. The one, he told his listener, was the reward of the Faithful who performed their five daily prayers; the other, he warned him, was the punishment of the Infidel, who neglected these prayers.

Sátoc was gravely impressed by the speaker's words and earnest manner. A solemn awe took possession of his mind, and he wished forthwith to be of the Faithful. Abú Nasr bid him repeat the creed after himself. He did so, and straightway became a Musalmán. "Who is Muhammad?" then enquired Sátoc. "He is the friend of God, and the guide to all people in the right way to eternity," replied Abú Nasr. "He saves them from Hell, obtains God's pardon for their sins, and secures their entry into Paradise." Sátoc was next taught the doctrines of the faith, and then, in the first promptings of his zeal for it, summoned his forty attendants, and invited them to follow his example and become Musalmáns. Some did so of their free-will, and others through fear of Sátoc's sword; but that same day they all accepted Islám, and became Musalmán, and, returned to the palace, agreed to conceal the fact for fear of the revenge of the infidels.

During six months Sátoc and his forty, stealthily by night, used to visit Abú Nasr, and from him learn the Curán, the prayers, and the ordinances of the religion, and to worship God according to the law of Muhammad. At this time Hárún Bughra Khan was troubled in mind by a dream he saw, in which he was seized and worried by a tiger cub. He assembled his wise men, priests, astrologers, and nobles, and consulted them as to its interpretation. They unanimously referred it to the apostacy of the King's nephew, and agreed on the necessity of killing him before he destroyed them and their religion.

The mother of Sátoc here interposed, and demanded that her son should first be put to the proof, and if, as suspected, he turned out to be a Musalmán, she would not oppose his execution. Her claim was acceded to as a just one, and it was decided to test the sincerity and loyalty of Sátoc by inviting him to lay the foundation of an idol temple they were about to build. Sátoc, warned of this, consulted Abú Nasr as to how he should escape the difficulty before him. His teacher bid him be of good cheer, and told him that, where personal safety was imperiled, the perpetration of certain prohibited acts was lawful, and that in the case of himself, provided he mentally avowed the foundations to be those of a mosque, the setting of the bricks would be an act meritorious in itself, and acceptable to God.

Thus fortified, Sátoc attended the assembly of the Royal Court, the grandees, nobles, priests, troops, and citizens at the time and place appointed, and, at the bid of Hárún, stepped forward, and with all solemnity set the first brick of the idol temple, mentally, the while, considering it to be a mosque. At the third brick Hárún, extending his arms, exclaimed "Hold! My son! No need to labour more. My mind is at rest now. You are free to act as you please." The assembly dispersed, and that same night Sátoc repaired to the residence of Abú Nasr, and asked how long it would be before they might openly acknowledge Islám. "That," he replied, "is best known to yourself." Sátoc, on this, proposed to attack the idolators immediately without further delay, content for himself to trust in God's aid for the victory. Abú Nasr applauded his zeal, but pointed to the paucity of their numbers.

Sátoc, nothing daunted thereby, now declared his resolve to at once make war upon the infidels, for his trust was in God, and, though few in numbers, their boldness would bring many to the standard of Islam. Seeing the zeal of his pupil for the cause Abú Nasr consented to his proposal. During six months, by converting two and three at a time, he had, on this night, about six hundred converts and followers about him, and it was decided that they should make their attack on the following night.

Accordingly, Sátoc and Abú Nasr, and all the Musalmáns set out together to surprise Hárún in his palace. Arrived at the city walls, Abú Nasr stretched forth

T.B.K. his hands to Heaven and prayed "Oh God! Of thy excellence and mercy vouchsafe victory to the Faithful, and grant that a deep sleep oppress the infidel." His prayer was answered, and a profound slumber overpowered the idolators. The Musalmáns entered the palace, took from the King's stables four hundred horses, equipped themselves with armour of his troops, slew some of them as they slept at their posts, and, collecting a store of provisions, issued from the city, and marched off to Dava Tágh=Camel Hill, where they took up a position for war. The date of Hárún's death is 380 H.=991 A.D.

In the morning Hárún, enraged at the violation of his palace, moved out with an army of forty thousand men to attack the revolutionists. The fight lasted from the forenoon till sunset, and infidel blood flowed in rivers. Five thousand idolators were sent to hell, and two Musalmáns were wounded. Next day six thousand men joined the army of Islám, and, taken two by two, and three by three, were made Musalmáns. The fight was resumed next morning, and continued for seven days and nights, with a terrible loss to the infidels, whose blood flowed in torrents. The victorious army of Islám grew daily by fresh accessions, and now numbered twelve thousand men.

After some days, provisions ran short, the horses were worn out, and the men reduced to straits. The soldiers now grew discontented, and, complaining, demanded of Abú Nasr how long their hardships were to endure. "That is best known to yourselves" he replied; and added—"You will see what comes from God. All will be well." That same night he took a force of ten thousand men, all Musalmáns, and set out to surprise Hárún. As before, on arrival at the city he prayed to God for victory to the Faithful, and confusion to the idolator.

The infidels were sunk in so deep a sleep, that they knew not their hands and feet. Sátoc made his way into the palace, and found Hárún sound asleep, with a lamp burning at his side, and a slave reclining thereby. He drew his sword to take his uncle's head, but was restrained by the consideration that it was unmanly to slay him in his sleep, and by the remembrance of "the claims of his salt," for, though an infidel, he had been his protector and guardian for several years. He consequently roused him by a prod on the foot with the point of his sword, and offered to spare his life on his accepting Islám.

The haughty Hárún, in wrath at his nephew's insolence, peremptorily refused, and began to upbraid his treachery and ingratitude; but Sátoc cut short his reproof and his life by a single stroke of his sword, and, casting the severed head out of the window on to a dung heap, came out of the palace, and, taking possession of the city, at once proclaimed the establishment of himself as King, and of Islám as the religion of Káshghar. On this day, it is said, by the grace of God and the blessing of his Prophet, twenty thousand converts were added to the fold of the Faithful.

Sátoc warred against the infidels during the whole of his long reign, and acquired the honorable title of *Ghází*—"Crescentader." His miraculous acts were many, but the two most notable were these: First, his sword, in its sheath, was like those used by other men, but when he drew it against the infidels, it lengthened to forty yards, and mowed down whole fields of them. Second, on ordinary occasions Sátoc was like other men, but when he warred against infidels, and charged their ranks, long flames of fire issued from his mouth and consumed crowds of them. Other infidels, on seeing this terrible power, became terrified and flocked to him to be made Musalmáns.

Sátoc was twelve and a half year's old when he first entered on war against the infidels. He used to fight them every summer, and spend the winter in the worship of God. By the time he was ninety-six years old he had subdued and converted to Islám all the country from the Amú Daryá=Oxus, beyond Balkh and Cish or Kark, to Carácoram in the north, and everywhere established the religion of Muhammad according to his *Shariat*=Law.

P. The above statement, I may here note, would seem to identify Sátoc with Iylik Khán or Iylik Mázi, as he is usually styled, the son of the Bughra Khan who has

been before mentioned as having invaded Bukhárá, where he died in the reign of the Ameer Sáid Abul Cásim. This Iylik Mázi, whose early seat was at Uzkan in the province of Farghana, was the first Tátár Prince who brought the Uyghúr people together as a nation. And his empire extended from the shores of the Caspian on the west to the Desert of Gobi and the frontiers of China on the east. P.

Towards the close of his reign, Sátoc made an expedition to the borders of Khitá, and established Islám over all the country up to Turfán. Here he became ill, and was conveyed back to Káshghar, where he lay sick a whole year and then died. In his last hours he summoned his friends around him, made his will; committed his family and government to the charge of Abúl Fattáh, the son of Abú Nasr, gave directions for his burial, and exhorted his sons to follow in his own steps, and adhere to the faith of the Prophet, and serve God truly. Then from a tray set before him he took a rose and smelled it, next he took an apple and ate it, and finally he took a goblet of sharbat and drank it. After this he stood up and repeated the creed, next he revolved in a circle three times, and sang a Persian couplet to the effect that, "a drop taken from the ocean makes it none the less. A soul on quitting its body rends but its covering veil." He then sat down and resigned his life with the close of day, 430 H.=1037 A.D. He was buried at Mashhad in Alton Artosh or Lower Artosh, and the funeral was attended by two *Wálí*—"Saint," seventy thousand *Alím*—"learned men" or "clergymen," twenty-two thousand *Ghází*—"Crescentader," and fifteen thousand *Awám-un-nás*—"Common people." T.B.K.

Such, omitting absurdities and miraculous incidents, is the history of the Prince who introduced Islám at Káshghar, as given in the book mentioned at the outset of the quotation. It further states that his successor, Abúl Fattáh, died three years later, and gives the following particulars regarding the family of Sátoc:— P.

Hazrat Sultan Sátoc Bughra Khan Gházi left four sons and three daughters. The former were Hasan Bughra Khan, Husen Bughra Khan, Yúsuf Cádír Khán, and . . . The latter were Nasab Turkán Khánim, Hadya Turkán Khánim, and Álá Núr Khánim. The last was a lady noted for her beauty, piety, and chastity. Her history briefly is this, and resembles that of Hazrat Miryam=Lady Mary. Álá Núr Khánim, on reaching the age of maturity, was one night engaged in the worship of God, when the Angel Gabriel came to her and poured a drop of light into her mouth. It produced a feeling of comfort, and for a while she became insensible. After this, one night, she went out at the gate, and, seeing the figure of a tiger, fainted. Some months and days after this again, at the time of the "Friday prayers," on the 10th *Muharram* H., she gave birth to a son with ruddy complexion, gazelle eyes, and sweet voice. The King was wrathful, and the people wondered, saying, "What manner of event is this?" He ordered an investigation of the mystery, and the divines and priests, the judges and lawyers, the grandees and nobles, all assembled and examined Álá Núr Khanim. Her explanation was considered satisfactory, and she was pronounced innocent, and the boy, in reference to the apparition she had seen, was named Sayyid Ali Arslán Khán. He was brought up by his mother, and at the age of seven years betrothed to Toc Bùbù, a daughter of Bughra Khán. She bore him three sons, *viz.*, Muhammad Arslán, Yúsuf Arslán, and Cizil Arslán, and several daughters, one of whom married Sayyid Jaláluddin, the son of Sayyid Baháuddin Shámi, and the others different Muhammadan divines of note. Hadya Turkán Khánim married Sayyid Jaláluddin, the son of Sayyid Alauddin, and bore him three sons and several daughters, from whom proceeded a number of Káshghar, Táshkand, and Samarcand relationships. T.B.K.

Sultan Hasan Bughra Khán, with the title of Hazrat Padshah Ghazi, succeeded his father at Káshghar. In his reign the idolators from Khutan, called also Chínshahr, invaded Káshghar with an army of thirty thousand men, under the leaders Bocta Rashid, Nucta Rashid, and Jagálú Khalkhálú of Máchín. They devastated several of its settlements, and for several months besieged the suburbs of the capital, and caused a famine in the country. At length Hasan, with his brother,

T.B.K. Yusuf Cadir, and nephew, Ali Arslán, issued from the city with an army of forty thousand men, and took the field against them.

Chocta Rashid, the champion of the infidel army, came forward for combat, and Ali Arslán, on the side of the Faithful, advanced to meet him. Each was attended by his supporters, and as they closed in combat, the two armies joined in battle. A hard fight ensued till night-fall, when the Musalmáns were forced to retire within the city, though they sent five hundred idolators to hell, in return for a few Musalmáns of note, who left the scene of their earthly troubles for the joys and delights of Paradise.

The battle was resumed next day, under the lead of Yúsuf Cadir, and with a more decided success, for he routed the enemy with the loss of seven hundred killed and the whole of their camp, which was plundered by the victorious Musalmáns. Following up this advantage, Hasan appointed Husyún Fyzulla, with a garrison of fifteen thousand men, to the charge of the city, and nominating Sayyid Jalaluddín as his minister, himself with fifty thousand men took the field in pursuit of the enemy, who had rallied and taken up a position on the Tázghún river. A desultory and indecisive skirmish at night-fall left the hostile armies camped opposite to each other.

Next morning, Hasan, having assembled the army, performed the prayers with great ceremony and all solemnity, and then appointing Yúsuf Cadir to the charge of his camp went out to the battle. His heralds preceeding blew their horns, and announced his royal titles and high lineage, and as he entered the field called for a champion from the other side worthy to meet the King. Jagálú Khalkhálú of Máchin answered the challenge, and came out against him. Both armies *en suite* clashed in conflict, and after a hard struggle, with success changing from side to side, the Khutan army was finally routed with great loss, and driven to retreat at Yángí Hissár. Hasan now returned triumphant to Káshghar, and celebrated his victory by public rejoicings, feasting, and largesses to the poor. But finding the infidels were still in force at Yángí Hissár, he raised an army of ninety thousand men and sent it, under the command of Ali Arslán, to drive the enemy out of the country.

Ali Arslán and his host found the Khutan and Máchin troops, thirty thousand men, strongly posted amongst the gravelly ridges of Bocsha-socsha, and Ortang Cará in the vicinity of Yángí Hissár. Several indecisive engagements followed with more or less encouraging success to the Musalmán arms, and the Káshghar troops pressed closer around their enemy with each successive skirmish. Finally Jagálú Khalkhálú, finding he could make no head against the superior numbers of his opponent, offered a rich reward in gold to any one who should devise a means of defeating and destroying Ali Arslán, whose noted bravery and impetuosity in fight had inflicted considerable loss and dispirited his men.

A poor and aged *Jállic* = Christian priest—at this period the Nestorian church was numerously represented all over the Kashghar territory, and for two centuries later the Christians held their own, and flourished side by side with their brethren of the rival, and subsequently dominant, faith, till their persecution and suppression by the Muhammadan rulers about the middle of the fourteenth century—who was in the habit of passing from one camp to the other came forward as a candidate for the offered reward. The Máchin leader took the *Jállic*, from his mean and poverty stricken appearance, to be a hungry vagrant merely attracted by the value of the offered prize, and was inclined to dismiss him summarily, but the man's speech impressed him in his favour, and he gave him a hearing. The *Jállic* now disclosed his scheme to attack the enemy at daybreak, when they were less on the alert and more sleepy than at any other time, and assured Jagálú Khalkhálú of success, provided he fell upon the Musalmáns at the moment they were engaged in the performance of their prayers, for they then laid aside their arms.

Accordingly, on the 10th *Moharram* 489 H. = 1096 A.D., at dawn of day, when the army of Islám was engaged in prayer, the Máchin Commander fell upon the

Musalmáns with the whole of his force, and routed them with immense slaughter. Ali Arslán was killed and beheaded, and the victors, pursuing the vanquished, chased them into Kashghar, under the walls of which they paraded the head of their victim, the renowned hero and favourite champion of the Musalmáns, and then cast it to the dogs.

This hero martyr has, consequently, two shrines erected to his memory. One at Ordám Pádsháh, called also *Cúm Shahídán* = "Martyrs' Sands," about fifty-six miles east of Yángí Hissár, over his body where he was killed; and the other at Daulat Bágh, close to Káshghar city, where his head is supposed to have been buried.

The Khutan and Máchín army invested Káshghar for several days and thoroughly devastated the suburbs. In one of the skirmishes during this time Alá Núr Kháním was killed. The account given in the book from which the preceding history is taken runs much to this effect:—Alá Núr Kháním, called also Bibi Miryam from the circumstances attending the birth of Alí Arslán, in the anguish of sorrow at the death of her son resolved to avenge his loss, and, accompanied by a body of her maids, rushed into the fray against the infidels. She slew twenty-five of them, and then, being overpowered, took to flight. The ground miraculously opened in her course, and disclosed some caverns, and she and her maids sought shelter in their recesses. Their pursuers, however, presently discovered them in their retreat, and put them all to death.

The shrine of Bibi Miryam, it may be here noted, stands near a deep ravine about ten miles north by east from the city of Káshghar. It has been recently restored by the present ruler, Amír Muhammad Yácúb Khan, who has enclosed its sacred precincts, and built a substantial mosque and commodious college on its grounds, and appointed a suitable establishment of custodians, priests, and teachers for their respective services.

After this disaster Hasan and his brothers, Husen and Yusuf Cádír, performed the funeral ceremonies of the slain with solemnity and magnificence. Camels, horses, oxen, and sheep were slaughtered without stint, and the whole of Káshghar, great and small, rich and poor, were feasted. A fresh army of sixty thousand men was raised, and Hasan again took the field, and, after a succession of victorious engagements, drove the enemy into the hills at Kokyár. From this he returned by way of Yárkand. The city submitted to him without resistance, and the people, coming out with their arms suspended from their necks in token of subjection, presented a rich array of gifts as peace-offering. Hasan halted here some time to settle the district and levy a contribution for his army. He then appointed Abdussamad of Káshghar his Governor over the city, and returned to his capital to enjoy a season of peace and plenty, now ushered in by this successful campaign. The country during this period of rest became so prosperous and productive that one *chárak* = twenty pounds weight of corn, did not cost a single *púí* = a penny.

Hasan Bughra Khan had reigned twelve years when Khoja Abdulla from Turkistán and Khoja Abábakar from Táshkand arrived over the Tirik Dawán, as envoys, to seek the aid of Hasan in restoring order in their country. He forthwith assembled his army, committed Káshghar to the charge of Husyún Fyzulla Khoja and Abúl Cásim, Káshghari, as his Minister, and with his brothers Hasan and Yusuf Cádír, and a great host set out for Turkistan. He spent the summer and winter there in subjugating the country, and in the spring celebrated his nuptials with Bibí Chah Miryam, a noble lady and noted beauty of the place, the *jayn* = niece, of Khoja Ahmad Yasaví, whose tomb there is the most sacred shrine in the country. He then set out on a campaign over the whole country to the westward, and penetrated to Madáyn in Persia. From this, after a prolonged stay, he returned by the Culzum Daryá or Caspian Sea, and converting the infidels, re-established Islám, city by city and tribe by tribe, up to Káshghar, where he arrived after an absence of several years. Here he found his progress checked, for in his absence the city had passed into the hands of the Khutan infidels, and the people had relapsed into their old idolatry.

T.B.K. He, consequently, sent Yúsuf Cádír back as envoy to the Imám Nasiruddín at Madáyn for assistance in a *Ghazát* = "crescentade," and meanwhile with his army of sixty thousand men, amongst whom were many Arab adventurers and Persian mercenaries, laid siege to the city. After five months of skirmishing and blockade the garrison, pressed for food, came out with all their force to drive off the enemy and raise the siege. They were cut off from the city, defeated with great loss, and pursued across the Kosán river, whilst Hasan, taking possession of Káshghar, received the submission of the people, and made them anew publicly profess Islám.

Hasan now re-established the *Sharíat* in all its severity, prohibited the use of wine, and flesh of dog, ass, and swine as unlawful; levied a ruinous contribution for his army, and, after a complete plunder of the city, mounted the throne as King. Having thus settled and secured the city, he assembled his army and marched against the infidels who had taken post at Yangí Hissár up to which point they held the country. After some severe engagements, he drove them out of the town on to the Cáyrghághítágh or Cáyrághítágh, a ridge of sand hills close to the south. In a subsequent engagement with Jagálú Khalkhálú beyond this ridge, Hasan Bughra Khán and three hundred of his warriors were cut off from their supports, and slain to a man. As most of them were men of rank and note from Tabriz, the village in the vicinity was called, in commemoration of the slaughter, Tabrizí, or as it is locally pronounced Tawiz. This disaster is dated Wednesday, 4th *Muharram*. H.

P. Bibí Chah Miryam Kháním, who accompanied the King on this campaign, now entered the field to avenge her husband's death. But she was quickly put to flight and pursued into the sandy desert, where she was overtaken and killed four days later. Her grave is marked by a lonely unpretending shrine, in connection with which is a poor monastery and alms house, far away from habitation, on the borders of the sandy desert, thirty-six miles to the south-east of Yangí Hissár, and sixteen miles south of Ordám Padsháh. Half a mile to the south of the shrine, which is called Mazár Hazrat Begum, are the indistinctly traceable ruins of a town, said to have been the city of Nucta Rashid. It presents nothing to view but the outlines of the foundations of rampart walls, and bastions, now mostly buried by the drifting sands. Here and there, where the sands have been swept away by the winds, the surface is strewn with fragments of pottery and glass, and occasionally coins are found amongst the *débris*.

T.B.K. Husen Bughra Khan, the brother of Hasan, now made a desperate effort to retrieve the day. But Nucta Rashid, elated by his successes, fought with an equal fury, and Husen was killed not far from the spot where his brother fell. His army was routed with terrible slaughter, and pursued to Káshghar, which again fell into the hands of the Khutan Chiefs.

The two brothers, Hasan and Husen, were buried in one grave on the field of their martyrdom, and the spot is marked by the shrines and attached monastery of Chúchám or Khojám Pádshah three miles west by south of Yangí Hissár, amidst the ruins of a vast cemetery.

Shortly after this, Yúsuf Cádír, who had been sent to Madáyn for aid, returned with an army of twenty-four thousand men, and accompanied by Sayyid Aláuddín. As he crossed the Andiján Pass, or Tirik Dawán, the infidels, abandoning the city, retired to Chín Shahr—called also Ilchi and Khutan—and Yúsuf Cádír, taking possession of Káshghar, mounted the throne as King. He added to his Arab force by the levy of a fresh army at the capital, and set out to conquer Khutan. His campaign proved successful, and Islám was now for the first time established in this flourishing seat of Buddhism. Jagálú Khalkhálú was killed in the course of the campaign near Cúmáb or Gúmá, and his country subdued and annexed to Kashghár, after a war, from first to last, of twenty-four years.

P. Such is a brief sketch of the history of the Bughra Khan family in the Káshghar territory, and whilst it gives an insight into their own ambitious designs under the tutelage of their Muhammadan preceptors, it, at the same time, conveys a

fair idea of the resistance at first opposed to the establishment there of the new religion. We may now return from this digression to review the part played by this family in the politics of the country adjoining it on the west before proceeding to follow up the course of events that again bring us to the theatre of action at Káshghar. P.

On the death of Bughra Khán at Bukhárá, the fugitive Abúl Cásim returned, and was re-established in the government by Subuktakin, the ruler of Ghazni, who then passed westward to the conquest of Nishábor and Herat. Meanwhile Iylik Khán, the son of Bughra Khán, from Káshghar repeatedly invaded Bukhárá against Abúl Cásim, until he was finally defeated by Subuktakin, and peace restored. Abúl, Cásim died 387 H. = 997 A.D. and was succeeded by his son, Abúl Hárith Mansúr. He was soon blinded by a rival noble in favour of his brother, Abdul Malik who, too, was a mere youth. He was for a while supported against the hostility of Mahmúd, the son of Subuktakin, by Begtakin and Faik, but was ultimately driven to seek refuge with Iylik Khan at Káshghar, who then himself marched to Bukhárá, and threw Abdúl Malik and the rest of his family into prison, 389 H. = 999 A.D. V.B.

Abdül Malik died in prison, but his brother, Muntazir, a third son of Abúl Cásim, effected his escape, and attempted the recovery of Bukhárá. Iylik Khan, however, whose empire now extended from the borders of China to the Caspian, drove him from the country into Khurásán. From there he wandered into Sistán, where he was killed by some petty robbers, Rabí Awwal 395 H. = 1004 A.D.

With the death of Muntazir ended the Sámání dynasty, which had, from 260 H. = 873 A.D., during a period of one hundred and thirty years, ruled over all Central Asia, and founded the Islám polity there on the orthodox *Sunní* model.

The Uyghúr, who under their Chief Iylik Khan, rose to power during the declining years of the Sámání rule, did not long enjoy their career of prosperity. Iylik Khan had his capital at Káshghar, and only held Bukhárá during the last years of the Sámání rule. Jand, a fertile country, eighty *farsakh* = "league" from Bukhárá was seized by Saljúk, a partizan of the deposed Muntazir, who now became independent. He was the son of Tomak, and had been expelled from the northern steppe with Súbásh, the General of the Prince Begú. With their following and new adherents they settled in the vicinity of Bukhárá. Here the grandsons of Saljúk, Toghrul and Chákar, warred with Iylik Khan, and after his death, with the Bughra Khan family of Káshghar.

Alitakin, the ruler of Samarcand, in alliance with Iylik Khan, quarrelled and warred with Cádír Khán, the son of Bughra Khán. On this Mahmúd marched to the latter's aid, and, driving out Alitakin, protected Cádír from Saljúk and other enemies. In 524 H. = 1129 A.D. Sultán Sanjar seized Samarcand, and carried its Governor, Muhammad bin Sulemán, prisoner to Khurasán, but afterwards reinstated him. Subsequently in 534 H. = 1139 A.D. Khwáhrizm Shah captured Bukhárá, destroyed its fort, and killed Ali Khalicat, the Governor of Sultán Sanjar. And again, following this, the next year Samarcand revolted under Ahmad, and Sultan Sanjar, subduing it, appointed Nasr, the son of Ahmad, to its government; but this led to more war, and the decline of the Sanjar rule. For at this time the government of the Uyghúr had passed into the hands of Gorkhán. N. V.B.

Gorkhán = Khánán Khán, Lord of Lords, was the title of the King of the Cará Khitáy, a people who came originally from Khitá, the northern provinces of the Chinese empire. They were at first a party of eighty emigrant families, who, on leaving their own country, found a refuge amongst the border Cirghiz. They soon, however, disagreed with these nomads, and moving on gradually made their way to Ayl or Ila, where they built a city. Here they were joined by a number of Turk wanderers, and their number soon exceeded forty thousand families. On the death of their first Gorkhán, his widow, Goyánik, assumed the government, but, owing to her profligacy, was soon deposed by her late husband's brother, who then succeeded to the government by the murder of a rival brother. And he, on his death, was succeeded by his son as Gorkhán. R.S.

Y.C. According to D'Ohsson, as quoted by Yule, the Cará Khitáy Empire was founded by a Prince of the Leao dynasty, who, on its fall before the Kin, in the beginning of the twelfth century, escaped from North China. He is the Yelin Táshí of the Chinese, and the Fushi Taifu of Rashíduddín. He was well received by the Uyghúr and others, subjects of the Khita Empire to the west of the desert, and ultimately, acquiring power and strength, conquered all the country up to Khwáhrizm, and in 1125A.D. took the title of Gorkhán. His capital was Balásághún, and his religion was Budhist.

He was succeeded in turn by a son and grandson, and the latter was reigning, when in 1208A.D. the son of the last Khán of the Christian Náymán sought refuge at the Court of Cará Khitáy, and married the daughter of Gorkhán. He plotted against his benefactor, ultimately captured him, and took possession of most of his country. He abandoned Christianity at the bid of his wife, and in the end was slain in the mountains of Badakhshán by the Mughal under Changíz in 1218A.D.

According to the French Monk William de Rubruquis, who was sent to Tatory on a mission to Bátu Khan by Louis IX of France when that sovereign was in Palestine, and who extended his travels to the Court of Mangú Khan, and the city of Carácoram, as quoted by the same author, Cará Khitáy was a name used in distinction from the proper Khitay. They dwelt in an alpine country north of Khitá, where in a plain amongst the mountains dwelt the Náymán tribe of Nestorian Christians. Their Chief, on the death of Gorkhán, the Cará Khitáy Ruler, rose to be King in his place, and was called by the Nestorians "King John," the Prester John of Europe. He was known by this name but to few in the time of Rubruquis when Kin Khan held the country.

This King John had a brother, who, like himself, was a great shepherd, and dwelt three weeks journey off on the other side of the Cará Khitáy mountains, where his capital was the small town of Carácoram. His name was Aong Khan, and his people the Karait and Makrit, who were also Christians, though their Lord became an idolator. Beyond his pastures, at from ten to fifteen days' journey, were the Mughol tribe, a poor people, without a leader or religion, except that of soothsayers and sorcerers. Beyond the Mughol or Moal was another poor tribe, the Tátár.

This Aong Khan, or Unc Cham, the Chief of the Karait of Carácoram, is the Tuli of the Chinese writers, and the Toghrul of the Persian. He got the title Unc, or Aong, or Wáng, as it appears in different authors, and which is equivalent to Khán = "Chief," "Lord" from Kin, the sovereign of North China. Aong Khan, on the death of his brother, King John, became Khán, and his flocks spread over the country to the Mughol borders. At this time there was amongst the Mughol tribes a blacksmith, Tamújin or Tamúrchi, who used to lift the cattle of Aong Khan's people; and they complaining to him, he invaded the Mughol lands, and drove Tamújin to refuge amongst the Tátár.

T.N. According to the Tabcáti Násirí, written by Minhájuddín 'Uthman, Jauzjaní in 658H. = 1259 A.D., Tamúrchi Tátár, Chief of the Mughol tribe, was the father of Changíz. One day out a hunting he got a *toghrul* or "crane" or "crested heron," and stuck its plumes in his cap by way of ornament. From this circumstance he was named Toghrultakin = "Toghrul by name." The Turk tribe had a separate Chief, but both Turk and Mughol were the subjects of Altán Khan of Tamgháj. They were a thieving, adulterous, and reprobate people and altogether wicked.

Such in brief is what is known of the antecedents of Gorkhán, who now, on the decline of the Sanjar rule, appears upon the scene.

R.S. About this period there was at Balásághún, the Cúbalígh of the Mughol, a Khán or Ruler of Afrásyáb descent. His power was declining, and he was constantly harassed by the incursions of the neighbouring predatory tribes of Cárligh, Cándulí, and Capchác. And in his distress he turned for aid to the Gorkhán of the Cará Khitáy.

Gorkhán marched to Balásághún on his invitation, But he took the place for himself, and subjugating the offending tribes to his own rule, appointed the Afrásyáb *Malik* or King to rule over the Turkmán people. Gorkhán next subdued the Cirghiz, and, taking the cities of Beshbáligh and Almáligh (the present Almátí or Almá Atá, as it is written in books), extended his conquests over Káshghar and Khutan, which were then at mutual hostility, and brought the adjoining province of Farghána under his rule. B.S.

At this time the Cará Khitáy nomads, who wandered over the country to the north of Khocand, now occupied by the Cará Cirghiz and Capchac, appealed to Gorkhán against the heavy taxes exacted by Sultan Sanjar. V.B.

According to the Tabcáti Násiri, the Cará Khitáy were a people who, having revolted against the King of Tamgháj, came to the cities of Cubáligh and Balásághún, and pastured on the Islamite borders, where the Musalmáns were ruled by Afrásyáb Princes descended from Iylik Márzi, under subjection to the Saljúk Kings. They at first paid tribute, but, on getting strong, revolted, and were attacked by Sultan Sanjar, whom they defeated, and whose wife, Turkán Kháton, they captured under their leader Táynko Taráz, who restored her on peace being made. The Sanjar power declined after this defeat, and the Turkistán Princes, being distracted and weakened by wars amongst themselves, sought the aid of the Cará Khitáy, who came and took the government for themselves, and kept it for eighty and odd years. Their rulers were in succession Ayma, and Sangam, and Arbar, and Tana, and Táynko, and then a queen who was succeeded by Gorkhán. His army invaded the country repeatedly, and conquered all up to the Jyon, including Talicán, Balkh, Amúy, and Tarmiz, and made Khwáhrizm tributary, and Khurásán too, excepting only the Sultáns of Ghor and Bámyán. Gorkhán was deposed by the Shúncár Tátár, Koshluk, and with him ended the rule of the Cará Khitáy. Before him Táynko Taráz was defeated and captured by Sultán Muhammad Khwáhrizm Sháh, at whose hands he accepted Islám. He had won forty-five battles before, and had never been defeated, till on this occasion Sultán Muhammad assailed his *banga*—"fortified camp" three several times, and finally captured him and his whole army. T.N.

When, as abovementioned, the Cará Khitáy nomads on the Khocand frontier complained to their King of the exactions of the Sanjar Governors, he took up their grievances and demanded redress, but failed in obtaining satisfaction. Consequently Gorkhán, in 536 H.=1141 A.D., assembled his forces, and, being joined by the Chiefs of the country, invaded Máwaránahar, whence he drove out Sultán Sanjar across the Oxus to Andkhúy, where he died a lunatic not many years later. He destroyed the fugitive King's army, and appointed Aymantakin as his Governor of Bokhárá, from which he then pushed on to Khwáhrizm, where he made its King, Atsiz, tributary in 30,000 *diram* yearly. The *diram* may be reckoned as equal to about six pence. V.B.

A couple of years later, Háshim Araba attacked Bokhárá, drove out Carácha Beg, the Governor of Gorkhán, and killing his Wazír, one Shahab, plundered the city and destroyed its fortifications. They were restored in 560 H.=1164 A.D. by the Cará Khitáy Governor of Gorkhán, who was in turn ousted by Muhammad bin Sultantakin Khwáhrizm Shah in 564H.=1168 A.D., who re-built and improved the fortifications. Finally they were destroyed in 616H.=1219 A.D., when Changiz took the place. N.

On the death of Sultan Sanjar, his nephew, Mahmúd, succeeded, and reigned for six years, when he was blinded by Bughra Khan of Kashghar, or one of the family of that name, to whom he was related on the mother's side. And thus the Saljúk empire fell to pieces; the Khwáhrizm King dividing Khurásán with him of Ghor, whilst Máwaránahar and Farghana fell to the hands of Gorkhán. With this division of the eastern portion of the Saljúk empire ended the first Turk dynasty in Máwaránahar, where the Persian literature and culture still flourished, the Turk element forming only the military class. V.B.

V.B. During the next fifty years the States of Bukhára and Samarcand were contested by Gorkhán of the Uyghur country on the east, and Khwárizmsháh of the Khiva on the west.

Khwárizm or Khivá was given in fief by Malik Sháh Saljuk to his General, Nushtakin Garcha, who was succeeded in 491 H.=1097 A.D. by his son, Muhammad Cutubuddin. He ruled thirty years, and assumed the title of Khwáhrizm Sháh, and in 521 H.=1127 A.D. was succeeded by his son Atsiz. He rebelled against Sultan Sanjar, and in the anarchy thus produced Gorkhán seized Máwaránahar, and made the Khwárizm Sháh tributary as stated above. Atsiz died at Kochán or Khaboshán in 551 H.=1156 A.D., and his son, Arslán Khan, who succeeded, continued the tribute to Gorkhán. He died in 560 H.=1164 A.D.

The succession was now contested between Takish, the eldest son, and Sultán-takin, the younger nominated one. Civil war continued for ten years, when by the aid of Gorkhán, on the promise of continued tribute, Takish was established on the throne of Khwáhrizm. He died on the 10th *Ramazán* 596 H.=1199 A.D., and left an empire nearly equal to that of the Sámáni and Saljúki to his son, Muhammad Cutubuddin Khwáhrizm Shah. He continued the tribute to Gorkhán, and with the aid of the Uyghúr defeated Shahábuddín, King of Ghor, and on his death annexed Ghor, Herat, and Sístán in 612 H.=1205 A.D. He next subdued Irán, and in 616 H.=1209 A.D., proud in the consciousness of his strength, refused the tribute to Gorkhán, and invaded Bukhára. He defeated the Uyghúr army and captured Atrar, whence he returned to Khwáhrizm.

On this Gorkhán, now ninety-two years of age, at once took the field, recovered Atrar and other places, and set seige to Samarcand. Meanwhile Cutubuddín Khwáhrizmsháh hurried back, and a fight ensued with the Uyghur army at Banákat, in 620 H.=1213 A.D., but the action was indecisive and both armies retired. In this battle Gorkhán was opposed by Koshluk Khán, the son of Tayúng Khán, Náyman, who now turned traitor to his patron and benefactor, and revolted against him.

R.S. This Koshluk, chief of the Náyman tribe of Christians, was a Budhist, but his wife was a Christian. He had been forced to flee from Beshbáligh by the hostility of Changíz, and coming to the westward found an asylum with Gorkhán, who received him well, and attached him to himself as an ally, and strengthened the connection by giving him his daughter in marriage. When Khwáhrizmshah, elated by his successes in Irác, refused the tribute to Gorkhán and invaded Bukhára, he entered into a plot with Koshluk to divide the Uyghúr empire by a simultaneous attack from the east and west. The agreement come to was that if Khwáhrizm Shah were first successful, he should have the country up to Káshghar and Khutan, but that if Koshluk first succeeded, he should take the country up to Banákat on the Syhon or Jazartes river as his share.

Khwáhrizm Sháh, from his vicinity, was first in the field, and took the country up to Atrar, as before mentioned. And he now recovered the place after the battle at Banákat, from which Gorkhán retreated in disorderly haste to his capital, where, on arrival, he found the gates closed against him. He besieged Balásághún for sixteen days, and, then taking it, gave the city up to plunder and massacre for three days, during which, it is said, forty-seven thousand souls perished.

Koshluk following up now appeared on the scene of riot and bloodshed. He soon routed the demoralized army, and captured Gorkhán, whom he consigned to an honorable captivity, in which he died two years later aged ninety-five. He next attacked Almáligh (Almábáligh), and killed its ruler, and then for successive years campaigned Kashghar and Khutan, and spread devastation and famine over the land. He was a Budhist, and his wife a Christian, and each proselytized to his or her own creed, and everywhere persecuted the Muhammadan. At Khutan, an ancient and most flourishing seat of the creed of his adoption, Koshluk took an ample revenge upon the hostile creed for the destruction its professors had wrought upon the temples and monasteries of the place, and requited the massacres and persecutions of their monks and priests at the hands of Yúsuf Cádír and his Arab allies by like reprisals. He assembled three

thousand of their clergy, and demanded a summary recantation of their false doctrine, and on their refusal to deny their "Pure Prophet," he executed their chief priest, Sheikh Jaláluddin, by suspending him head downwards from the bough of a tree in front of the principal mosque; whilst he let loose his soldiery amongst the rest to slay and torture, and finished with the destruction of their mosques and desecration of their tombs. R.S.

Whilst Koshluk was running this violent career in the south-west of the Uyghúr country, another Budhist chief, Aydy Cút, Tátár, had risen to power at Balásághún in the north-east of the same region, and with only less violence persecuted the Muhammadans up to the Táshkand frontier, and destroyed their town of Kásán belonging to the province of Farghána. (Abúl Fidá).

At this time the growing power of Changíz had made itself felt on the Uyghúr border, and Aydy Cút, alive to his own interests, tendered an early submission to the rising conqueror. He was in consequence highly favoured, and Changíz gave him one of his daughters to wife. Koshluk, on the other hand, mistrustful, and continuing the old antipathy, did not so submit. Changíz, consequently, sent a strong force of his Mughol, under Jattah Noyán, to exterminate him and his Náymán.

The Mughol invaders fell upon and slew all the Náymán troops they could lay hands on at Káshghar, where they found them scattered amongst the peasantry, from whom they had taken forcible possession of their houses; and then followed in the track of Koshluk to Khutan, subjugating and settling the country as they went on.

Koshluk, on hearing of the destruction of his army and the approach of his dread enemies, abandoned Khutan, and fled in haste with only a few attendants into the mountains of Badakhshán, and the Mughol, pursuing, got some Wákhi or Wakhán huntsmen, amongst whom he was concealed, to deliver him up to them. They straightway killed him, and sent his head to Changíz, who then annexed Káshghar and Khutan, and the country up to the Syhon.

This brings us to the period of the Mughol invasion under Changíz, and that occupation of the country which has given to it the name of Mugholistan; just as in anterior ages a similar irruption from the north, under Ayghúr Khán, gave to it, and the adjoining region to the west, the name of Turkistán, from the designation of the main division of the great Tátár invaders of that period, after whom the whole of the Central Asian plateau takes the general name of Tatory. To understand this it is necessary to go back to the early history of these peoples. The oriental version as given by Mír Kháwind Sháh, the Mirkhond or Khondemir of European authors, whose opportunities of acquiring reliable information on the traditions of the country were, from his position at Herat during the glorious reign of the great Sultán Husen Mírzá in the latter half of the fifteenth century, probably as good as those of other historians, may be briefly summarized much as follows:— P.

Yáfath or Japhet, which signifies "ancestor," was the forefather of the Turk race. R.S.
When the ark rested on the mountain Júdí, Noah sent forth Japhet to the countries of the east, and gave him the *yada-lásh* = jade stone, which signifies "rainstone," for by its possession was secured a timely rain for the crops in their seasons. From him sprung the following peoples:—

Chín. He was the inventor of painting, silk culture, the art of weaving, and many other useful arts.

Scláb. He warred with Rús, and Kharz, and Kamári for the possession of the land, and finally settled in the country bearing his name. It is in 64° N. Lat. and beyond the *haft iclm*, where, owing to the intensity of the cold, the houses are sunk underground.

Kharz or Khazar. He settled on the River Amil = Volga, and built the city of Khazar there, and cultivated the soil.

Rús. He settled on the tracts adjoining Khazar; introduced punishment by fine and confiscation, and heritage by daughters, the sons receiving only their fathers' weapons of war.

R.S. *Ghaz*. He settled in Bulghár, and warred with Turk. They are both the worst and most turbulent of the sons of Japhet.

Kamári were huntsmen on the borders of Bulghár, and were clad in the furs of weasels and other animals. They separated into the divisions of Bartás and Bulghár.

Turk. Settled at Baligh = "City" in Silingáy, which is a mountainous region, with small rivers, and many springs. Here houses were first built, of reeds and logs. Turk had four sons, *viz.*, Codak, Chagal, Parskhar, and Aylác. Codak discovered the use of salt by his bread falling on saline ground out a hunting.

Other sons of Japhet from whom nations sprung are Manshij, Sadsan, and Yarij. They were all at first nomads, and to this day they all prize most highly the *yada-tásh*.

Turk became the first Khán of Turkistán. He was the cotemporary of Kyámurth, the first sovereign of Persia. At eighty years of age he resigned his kingdom in the east to his eldest son, Amalgha Khán, who in his old age resigned it to Bátú Khán. He was a really great Prince, and was succeeded by his son, Kúyúk, who, also, was a wise, just, and powerful sovereign. On his death he was succeeded by his son, Alinja Khan. In his reign the Turk became a powerful nation, and relapsed from their ancient form of religion. He had twin sons, Tátár and Mughol, and in his old age he divided his empire between them, and they lived in harmony after his death. Tátár from father to son gave a succession of eight Kings, the last of whom was Báydú Khan. The kingdom then became dismembered by internal dissensions.

Mughol similarly gave a succession of nine Kings, the last of whom was Ayl or El Khán. From him is continued the line of the Turk. Mughol had four sons, *viz.*, Cará, Azar, Kaz, and Uz. Cará Khán succeeded to the throne, and is the ancestor of the Mughol tribes. His home was at Cará Coram = "Black Shale," between two mountains called Artak and Kartak. He had a son named Aghor, who first married the daughter of his uncle Kaz; but not agreeing with her he next married the daughter of his uncle Uz; and not agreeing with her either, finally married the daughter of his uncle Azar. She accepted the new religion he preached to her, and they loved each other and lived happily together. His first wives became jealous, and plotted to poison him, but the vigilance of his favourite guarded him. The discontented wives then complained to Cará Khan of being neglected and despised by his son, because they had refused to desert their faith for his new religion, which he wished them to adopt.

On this Cará Khan, fearful of the spread of the new doctrine amongst his people, marched to attack his apostate son on his hunting grounds. He was forewarned by his faithful wife of the design against him, and was consequently on his guard, and in the fight that followed, Cará Khan was killed. Aghor Khan now (about 650 B.C.) ascended the throne, and converted the people to the new faith. He reigned seventy-three years. Some of his tribes rebelled and sought aid from Chín, whose King sent an army to their assistance. Aghor marched against it, defeated it, and subdued all the Tátár and Mughol tribes in that country.

After this he invaded Bukhárá, and subjugated all Turkistán, and then held a grand national assembly or *Curultay* of all his princes, and nobles, and chiefs, called together from every part of his empire. They came over journeys of one or two years, with their families and flocks, with their *Khargák* or "circular framework huts" and waggons, and formed a vast camp such as had never been seen, and made high festival. On this occasion, in counsel with his nobles, Aghor Khan framed a code of laws for the government of his empire, at the wisdom of which the mind is wonder-struck, and which raised him to the same exalted position amongst the Turk nations that was held by Jamshed amongst those of Persia. He gave distinctive appellations to the several tribes of Turk, such as Uyghur = "joining," because this tribe sided with him against the hostility of his father, Cánculi = "waggon," because of their wealth in, and use of those vehicles; Calich = "sword," because of their distinction in its use, &c., &c. Aghor Khan, after seventeen years' war subdued

the Burác tribes, and after the campaigns of Ghor and Ghurjistán returned to his own seat at Cará Coram, where he died. He left six sons, *viz.*, *Gún*=Sun, *Ay*=Moon, *Yuldúz*=Star, *Kúk*=Sky, *Túgh*=Mountain, and *Dangíz*=Sea. From these in twenty-four divisions, from sons and grandsons, are descended all the Turkmán tribes. R.S.

Turkmán is a recent name for those Turk tribes who settled in Máwaránahar, and, though not intermarrying with foreigners, became altered in appearance by the effects of change of climate, and mode of life, and were called by their neighbours Turkmánind or Turkmán="Turklike." Aghor Khan, in his western conquests, took Khurásán and both Irác, and extended his power over the countries of Misr=Egypt, Shám=Syria, Rúm=Turkey or the Roman Empire, and Afrásig=Africa? On his return to Artak Kartak he held a grand national assembly, and celebrated his conquests by magnificent festivities. Nine hundred mares and nine thousand ewes, according to the rule of ten sheep to one horse for feasts, were slaughtered, and wine and delicacies of every sort and country were lavishly expended on the feast, whilst rich robes and presents were distributed to the nobles.

On this occasion Aghor Khán divided his empire amongst his six sons. The right wing amongst the three eldest, and the left wing amongst the three youngest, and he gave them his bow and three arrows between them. The three eldest broke the bow and shared its pieces, and are in consequence collectively known by the tern *Buzúc*="Destroyer." The three youngest shared the arrows between them, and are collectively styled *Uchúc*="Three arrows."

Shortly after this assembly Aghor Khan died, and his son, *Gún*, succeeded to the throne, with his father's Minister, *Arcíl*, as councillor. He represented that each of the six brothers had now four sons, making in all twenty-four royal princes, and proposed that they should be all provided for so as to prevent discord. Accordingly each was allotted his own province, and city, and rank, and standard, and privileges. The six brothers shared the government for seventy years, and then the son of *Dangíz*, named *Manglay*, became ruler of Mugholistán, and reigned one hundred and ten years.

Manglay was succeeded by his son *El Khan*. At this time Turkistán and Máwaránahar belonged to *Túr bin Farídún*. He allied with *Sonj Khan*, the *Tátár* Chief, and they warred with *El Khan*, whose camp they surprised, and captured to a man, excepting only his son, *Cayán*, and his maternal uncle's son, *Tukoz*, who, each with his wife, effected their escape.

These four fugitives escaped to a mountain fastness, inaccessible on all sides but by a single track, called *Arkana Cúl* (in the Cobdo District), and these in course of time multiplied to many families. Those of *Cayán* were called *Cayát*, and those of *Tukoz*, *Daralkín*. After this, by melting and digging a way across an iron mountain barrier, they issued from their retreat, and recovered their ancestral seats from the *Tátár* possessors, and were joined by the other Mughol tribes.

The Mughol country extends from that of the *Uyghúr* on the west to the frontiers of *Khitá* on the east, and from *Silingay* (in Cobdo) and *Carcar* on the north to *Tibat* on the south. The food of the people is the flesh of their flocks and the chase, and their clothing furs.

Yuldúz, the son of *Mangláy Khwája*, the son of *Tymúr Tash*="Ironstone," a descendant of *Cayán*, when he ruled the Mughol, raised their name to the highest fame, and annually celebrated the mode of escape from the iron mountains of *Arkana Cúl* by the erection of furnaces, and melting and hammering of iron, and singing and feasting all night.

Such, in brief summary, is the history of the origin of the Turk people, whose career in this region through the *Uyghur* period has been sketched in the preceding pages, as given by *Mír Kháwind Sháh*. His account of the Mughol people may be briefly summed up as follows:— P.

Alan Coá, the granddaughter of *Yuldúz Khán*, *Cayát*, was the wife of her father's brother's son, and she bore him two sons, named *Yalkadi* and *Yakjadi*; and after his death she ruled the tribe, and educated her sons. At length, like the R.S.

R. S. self-breeding women of the Northern Isles, and the mother of Hazrat Isá = Lord Jesus, she became pregnant without the intervention of a father, by means of a ray of light entering her *Khargák* at night, and passing into her mouth as she slept. She was a noted beauty, and was now naturally charged with unchastity; but at a convocation of the Mughol chiefs and nobles she satisfied them of her innocence by shewing some of them the light as it again entered her tent at night, to witness which phenomenon a party of them had been appointed to keep watch. She was in due time delivered of three sons, *viz.*, Yacún Caycay, from whom descend the Caycay tribes; Yasfya Sáljí, from whom descend the Sáljút tribes; and Buzúnjar Muthcán, from whom come all the Mughol Kháns. The progeny of these three sons are collectively styled Buzún, and those of the two sons by her cousin and husband are styled collectively Daralkín, and they hold an inferior rank.

Buzúnjar Khán succeeded to the throne. He conquered Túrán, which was divided amongst many rival Turk Chiefs, and adopted the title of Khácán or Cá'án, which signifies "Sovereign Lord." On his death he left two sons, Bocá, the eighth ancestor of Changíz, and Tocá, the ancestor of Máchín.

Bocá was succeeded by his son Domín Khan; and he in turn left a widow, named Manolán, and nine sons. She was very wealthy and wise, and dwelt in a strong castle on the Arkaby mountain, at the foot of which flowed a swift river. Here she stored her riches, and from here she ruled her people, and got wives for her sons from the neighbouring tribes. At this time seventy *gorán* = "a camp of one thousand tents" of the Jaláyr tribe, camped on the Great Kalorán river near Khitá, with whose people they were always at war. At length the Khitáy crossed the river, and drove off the Jaláyr from their border, and they retreated and came on to the pastures of Manolán.

Manolán collected her people, and issued from her retreat to drive them off, but was overpowered and killed with eight of her sons and many of her men, and her castle was captured by the invaders. The ninth son escaped the fate of his family through his absence on a visit to his uncle, Máchín, to whose daughter he was betrothed. Máchín now prepared to avenge the loss of his relatives upon the Jaláyr, but was appeased by their rendering up seventy culprits for execution, and excusing the disaster as the act of some lawless bands contrary to the desire of the tribe; and peace was restored.

Cáydí Khan now ascended the throne. He is the sixth ancestor of Changíz and Caráchar Noyan. He dug the canal of Jaralúm, and warred with the Jaláyr. He had three sons, *viz.*, Báyncar, Harca Lingam, and Khárchín. From Báyncar are descended Changíz and Tymúr; from Harca Lingam, the Tanjút tribe; and from Khárchín, the tribe of Sájyút. On the death of Cáydí his eldest son, Báyncar, succeeded to the throne; but he soon died, and his son, Tomna Khan, took his place. He was a great Prince, and largely extended the empire. He had nine sons, seven by one wife, and twins by the other. These last were Cabl Khan, the third ancestor of Changíz, and Cáchúly Khán, the eighth ancestor of Tymúr.

Cabl Khan ascended the throne on the death of his father. He is called Alanjik Khan by the Mughol. He appointed Cáchúly his regent when he went to visit Altán Khán, the King of Khitá. On his death he was succeeded by his son, Cúbla Khan. He warred with Altán Khán, and, defeating his Tátár and Khitáy, plundered his country, and returned home with his Mughol laden with a rich booty. He died soon after, and was succeeded by his brother Buznán. His uncle, Cáchúly Bahádur, having died, Buznán appointed his son, Ardúnchi Birlás, to the command of the army. On his death, Buznán was succeeded by his son, Mysoka Bahádur, and he, on the death of Ardúnchi, appointed his son, Súghanchín, to the command of the army in succession to his father. Mysoka warred with the Tátár, and, defeating them, captured their Chiefs Tamújin = Tamurchi or Tymurchi = "blacksmith" or "ironsmith," and Cará Bocá = "black stag." From this campaign he returned to Dylon Yulduc, where his wife, Aolún, gave birth to Changíz, on the 26th

Zicada 549 H. = 1154 A.D. Mysoka called him Tumúrchi or Tamújín, because that Tátár Chief's rule ended at the time of his birth. Aolún bore Mysoka two other sons, *viz.*, Jújí = "stranger," and Casar = "wild beast." Mysoka died in 562 H. = 1166 A.D., and his General, Súghanchín, soon after. R.S.

The recently subjugated tribes now revolted, and joined the Tanjút or Tangút tribe, and both Mughol and Tátár became divided by internal dissensions, and soon separated under rival Chiefs. The Birlás tribe too, the family in which the command of the army was hereditary, now revolted against Changíz, who was aged sixteen years.

Changíz, on succeeding to his father's rule, suffered many reverses at first, and was opposed by the tribes of Jámocá, Tanjút, Cunghrát, Jaláyr, and others, consequently he sent Caráchár Noyán, the son of Súghanchín, to seek the aid of Aong Khán, who had been an old ally of Mysoka, and was at this time the most powerful Prince in all Turkistán. He treated the envoy well, invited Changíz to his court, received him with cordial hospitality, and adopted him as his son; and Changíz in return did him good and faithful service. He defeated the Makrít Chiefs, Borkín and Toeyá Begi, who had joined the brother of Aong Khán in rebellion against him. On this the Tanjút, Sáljút, Cunghrát, Jaláyr, Tátár, and other tribes, joining in revolt, confederated against Aong Khán and Changíz, and swore on slaughtered horse, cow, sheep, and dog to overcome them or die in the contest. Accordingly both sides prepared for war. The hostile hosts met in battle at Byor Náwar, and after a bloody engagement the troops of Aong Khan and Changíz were victorious.

After this, owing to old enmity and jealousy of his power, Búyuríc Khan, brother of Táýáng Khan, the ruler of the Náymán, attacked Aong Khan, but his army was destroyed by the cold and snow. Changíz had now served Aong Khan seven years, and, having risen to great favour and authority, was envied by all the courtiers, and looked on with jealousy by the nobles. The ruler of the Jájrát tribe, named Jámocá, was the most active against him, and instigated Sanjún, the son of Aong Khan, to hostility against him on the pretence that he was in league with Táýáng Khan to seize the government. At first Aong Khan refused to credit the charges brought against the fidelity and loyalty of his favoured confidant, but the perseverance with which they were reiterated finally shook his faith, and he was persuaded to make an attempt to seize him.

Accordingly with his son's army, on the pretence of a hunting excursion, he marched to the territory held by Changíz, and there pitched its tents in the vicinity of his camp. Changíz was soon after informed of the plot to surprise his camp at night by one of his soldiers, who brought with him two boys, from whom he had heard of the intentions of their neighbours; and they, on being questioned, asserted they had overheard what they had reported at the tent of a soldier in the opposite camp, where they had gone to sell milk. Accordingly Changíz, satisfied as to the truth of the boys' statements, quietly abandoned his camp at nightfall, and, leaving the tents standing, moved with Caráchár Noyán and his troops into the hills hard by. Aong Khan fell upon the camp towards day light, and, finding it empty, followed in the track of the fugitives. A fight ensued, Sanjún was wounded, and Aong Khan put to flight, leaving many of his Karait dead on the field.

Changíz after this remained sometime at the salt springs of Báljúna, and assuming independence established a code of discipline for the government of his adherents. It was known as *yásá-yúsún* = "established custom," and owing to its severity led to the desertion of many of his followers. He now rewarded the two lads, who had informed of the plot, by attaching them to his court with the rank of *Tarkhán*, the privileges of which were free access to the royal presence, and immunity from punishment for criminal offences up to nine convictions; and the dignity was made hereditary. The descendants of these Tarkhán were still met with in Khurásán in the fifteenth century.

R. S. From Báljúná Changíz moved to the banks of a river flowing at the foot of a mountain on the border of Khitá, and here he mustered his army, which numbered only four thousand six hundred men. From this he moved on to the Nor or Náwar = "Lake," and from there sent envoys to treat with the Cúnghrát tribe, who came and joined him. He next sent envoys to arrange a peace with Aong Khán, but they returned unsuccessful, and war followed. Changíz defeated Aong Khán, who fled for asylum to Táyáng Khán, but he was attacked on the way by some nomad robbers, who killed him and sent his head to their Chief; and he had the skull set in a gold frame, and in memory of their old enmity used to address it with words of reviling. Sanjún, on this occasion, escaped to Tibet, and thence made his way to Káshghár, where he was executed by its Chief in 599 H. = 1202 A.D.

Changíz by this victory subjugated all the Mughol tribes, and at the age of forty-nine years ascended the throne at Shamán Gara, his favourite camp ground in the same year 1202 A.D. According to Mughol custom he was raised aloft on a pile of felt carpets, and putting on the crown with magnificent ceremony, changed his name from Tamúgin to Changíz.

Now, in the following year, 1203 A.D., Táyáng Khán, Náymán, dreading the power of the rising conqueror, sent envoys to arrange an alliance with Alácosh Namugín, the King of the Angait, but he refused the advances made, and joined Changíz, who was already on the march against the Náymán. His army camped on the Gulbaty plain till the end of the summer harvest, and then the vanguard advanced to the Altáy river, where it came up with the army of Táyáng Khan, and his allies, the Makrit, Karait, Awrát, Jájrát, and other tribes.

Changíz defeated them all. Táyáng died of his wounds, and Koshluk, his son, escaped to his uncle, Búyurúc Khan. The tribes of Tátár, Caycay, Durmán, and Sáljút submitted, but that of Makrit held out. Changíz returned for winter to Shamán Gara, and in the spring marched against Toctá Begi, the ruler of the Makrit. He, with his son, Cará Namoda, fled to Búyurúc Khán, the brother of Táyáng Khán, and Changíz subjugated the Makrit. He then went against Tangút or Cásmin, destroyed its fort, and slew all who offered resistance, as was his established rule.

Changíz after these victories extended his *yásá-yúsún* code over all the subjugated tribes, whom he now incorporated into his military organization, framed on the decimal system, by which the whole population capable of bearing arms was enrolled in his army. They were divided into companies of ten called *ón*; of a hundred, called *yús*; of a thousand, called *ming*; and of ten thousand, called *túmán*. And each of these was under a commander, called respectively *Onbáshi*, *Yúzbáshi*, *Mingbáshi*, and *Túmán Aghá*, who was directly subordinate to the commander next in superiority to him, so that each commander had direct control of only ten units: thus the *Túmán Aghá* of ten *Mingbashi*, the *Mingbashi* of ten *Yúzbashi*, the *Yúzbashi* of ten *Onbáshi*, and the *Onbáshi* of ten men. The system was rigidly enforced, and governed by strict regulations for the conduct and responsibility of each rank. And practically it worked with that success which enabled its originator to achieve the surprising conquests that in less than ten years laid the whole of Asia at his mercy, of which alas! it knew not even the semblance.

In the following spring he held a grand national assembly, or *Curultáy*, and, mounted on a magnificent throne, confirmed the change of his name from Tamúgin to Changíz; established the *yásá-yúsún*, written now for the first time in the Uyghúr character, as the law of his realm; held high festival, and then set out on a campaign against the resisting Búyurúc Khán. He was killed, and his country ravaged, but his nephew, Koshluk, escaped to Toctá Begi, and they both retired to the country of Arwish. Changíz returned from this campaign to quell a revolt in Tangút, and then turned his arms against the Cirghiz on his western borders. They, however, met him with a prompt tender of submission and tribute, and were in return granted the privilege of holding their lands in *Sáyúrghátmish*, or "military fief," and Changíz retraced his steps triumphant to Shamán Gara.

After a brief repose there, he again, at the end of 604 H. = 1207-8 A.D., took the field, and went against Koshluk and Toctá Begi in Awrish, and on the way received the submission of the Awrát, who acted as guides to the hiding place of the fugitive Chiefs. Toctá Begi was killed in the fight at Arwish, but Koshluk again escaped by flight, and found refuge with Gorkhán, Chief of the Cará Khitáy, and ruler of Turkistán, who received him well, and gave him his daughter to wife. After this victory Changíz received the submission of Arslán Khán, the El or "Chief" of the Cárlúc tribe, and of Aydy Cút, the Chief of the Uyghúr, whom he treated with great favour, and to whom he gave one of his daughters in marriage. Following this he sent envoys to demand the submission of Altán Khán, the King of Khitá. The King refused, and Changíz marched against him, defeated his army with terrible slaughter, sacked and destroyed many cities, and pursued the King—in those days the Kings of Khitá were always called Altán Khan, just as they were afterwards called Ayming Khán—to Khánbáligh or Chunkad, the Cambalay of Marco Polo.

R.S.

On the approach of the invader, Atlán Khán sued for peace, and sent his daughter to him as wife. Changíz accepted her and turned back, but Altán Khán, leaving his son with a strong army in Khánbáligh, removed his Court to Taming, which he made his capital. This city had been built by his father on a very wide river, and was protected by three lines of fortified walls one inside the other, and was adorned by handsome palaces, and gardens in which were produced the fruits of both hot and cold climates.

At this time, however, the Cará Khitáy, who had revolted and seized some Khitá territory, submitted to Changíz and sought his aid, and he consequently sent an army with them against Khánbáligh. The King's son fled to Taming, and the city, reduced by famine and siege, was taken and plundered of an immense treasure. Altán Khán poisoned himself, and Changíz, after a campaign of two years, conquered most of Khitá, and leaving strong garrisons in Tughúr and its frontiers returned to his Yúrt or "country seat" at Shamán Gara—"The Shaman's home."

The Náymán country now revolted, and Changíz sent an army, provided with carts, to subdue and settle it. It marched to the Cará Morán river in Mugholistán, and there came up with the enemy under Codo, the brother of Toctá Begi. He was slain and his son taken prisoner. The youth was a noted archer, and displayed his skill before Júji, who having seen him put one arrow on the other at a mark, interceded with his father to spare the life of so skilful a bowman. Changíz, however, refused, and with the lad's death the ruling family of Makrit became extinct, 613 H. = 1216 A.D. At this time the Comát tribe on the Khitá frontier having revolted were also subjugated.

Whilst this force was operating against the Makrit on the Cúmkichik—"Little Sands" on the east of Mugholistan, another force was hunting to the death Koshluk, and settling the country of Káshghar and Khutan up to the Syhon on its west, as has been before related. And this brings us back to the course of our narrative of events.

P.

About this period then, with the submission of Aydy Cút of Balásághún and Arslan Khan of Almáligh on the north, and with the death of Koshluk and the annexation of Káshghar and Khutan on the south of the Tianshán, the territory of Changíz extended from the east borders of the desert of Gobi to the west slopes of Tianshan mountains, where it marched with the frontiers of Máwaránahar, ruled by Khwáhrizm Sháh, and included the whole of Mugholistán proper.

The anarchy prevailing in this region just prior to the Mughol invasion had led Sultan Muhammad Cutubuddin Khwáhrizm Sháh to meditate the conquest of Khitá, but the fame of the conquering Changíz caused him to restrain his ambition, and instead thereof he sent a friendly mission to the conqueror of the east to spy out the land.

T.N.

On the return of this embassy, one of its members, Sayyid Baháuddín, related to the author of the *Tabcáti Násiri*, the work from which I am quoting, at Tolak of Ghor in the year of the Mughol invasion of Khorasan, 617 H. = 1220 A.D., that as the mission approached the capital of Tamgháj (Changíz was at the time prose-

T.N. cutting his *Khitá* campaign), they marched for three days along a hill white as snow with the bleached bones of the slain in its siege, whilst the ground between to the city was black and grimed with their gore, the stink of which killed some and poisoned most of their party. At the city itself, under one of its towers, he saw a pile of bones, said to be those of twenty thousand virgins, who had been cast from it to escape by such death the fury of the Mughol soldiers.

Khwáhrizm Sháh's embassy was well received by Changíz, who dismissed the envoy with rich presents, and the following brief message of his master :—"I am King of the East. Thou art King of the West. Let merchants come and go between us, and exchange the products of our countries." A caravan of merchants accompanied the returning envoy, who amongst the other presents from Changíz carted away a block of native gold the size of a camel's neck. On arrival at the frontier city of Atrár, 1218 A.D., the Governor, Cádír Khán, by order of Khwáhrizm Sháh, detained the caravan, and soon after murdered all the merchants to the number of four hundred, and plundered their property.

This treacherous act brought down upon the country the savage vengeance of Changíz. He collected his forces from Turkistán, Chin, and Tamgháj, under eight hundred standards of a thousand men each; eight hundred thousand horsemen. He appointed, besides, three hundred thousand horses for the baggage of the army, its carts, and families, &c., including one horse to every ten men, with its load of three sheep made into *caddá*="sundried salt-meat," a skin of *Cumiz*="mare's milk wine," and a *Kuzghan*="iron cooking pot." Thus provided his hardy soldiers marched three months across deserts, and rivers, and mountains, and towards the end of 616 H. = 1219 A.D. arrived at Atrár. Here he left Júji and Aoktay with their troops, who on its capture after a seige of five months, in revenge for the murder of their merchants there, destroyed every living thing in it. Meanwhile Changíz himself with a strong force hurried on to Bukhára, the capital.

P. We need not here follow the career of his frightful butchery and devastation. It is sufficient for our purpose to note here that the cities of Káshghar escaped these calamities, and that a strong contingent of their Uyghúr soldiery under Aydy Cút and other leaders were in the conqueror's army; that Khwáhrizm Sháh, flying before the storm his savagery had raised, was chased into Mazandarán, and escaped his pursuers by ship on the Caspian to disappear from the scene; that the populous cities of Bukhára, Balkh, Nishabor, Herat, Ghazni, and many another in this region were utterly destroyed with their inhabitants; that the vaunted impregnable castles and fortresses of Tokháristán, Kábul, Ghor, Sístán, Khurásán, and Khiva were without exception captured and dismantled or razed; that the entire region from Azarbíján on the west to the Indus on the east, and from Dasht Capcháac on the north to Sístán on the south, was in the short space of only six years so thoroughly wasted and ruined that more than as many centuries has not sufficed to obliterate the effects and marks of the havoc then worked, far less to restore the region to its former state of prosperity and population; and finally, that having chased Sultán Jaláluddin Khwahrizm Sháh, the son and successor at Ghazni of the fugitive King, across the Indus, he was called back from his mad career of devastation to quell a revolt in his own home at Tungút.

T. N. Changíz, the author from whose work these records are taken states, had in 615 H. = 1218 A.D., just at the time he was preparing to set out against Khwáhrizm Shah, received envoys from the Khálif Násir of Baghdad urging him to do so, in revenge for the independence of the Khálifat assumed by this ruler of Máwaránahar. He was joined on the way by Arslán Khán of Almáligh, and by Aydy Cút from Beshbáligh with his Uyghur contingent. On arrival at Atrár he left Aoktáy and Chagh-táy, with Júji in support to take the place, and sending Alác Noyán and Mangú Bocá to Banákat and Khujand, himself hurried on against Bukhára, the *Cutub-ul-islám*="centre prop of Muhammadanism." In the Mugh or Parsi language *Bukhár* is said to signify "collection of knowledge," but with the Uyghúr and Khitáy it

means "idol temple." The city was now completely sacked and ruined, and its population massacred and enslaved. At Atrár, which was garrisoned by fifty thousand of Khwáhrizm Sháh's troops—he himself fled from the capital by Nishábor to Absukún, where he died 22nd *Zi Hijj* 617 H.=1220 A.D., (Vambery)—not a soul was left alive, the whole population being led out in batches of fifty and butchered on the plain outside the walls. T.N.

On his return march from the Indus, Changíz sent his son Aoktáy in mid-winter to Ghazni and Ghor, there to wipe out in the blood of the people the disaster his troops had suffered at the hands of Jaláluddín in the fight at Parwán.

He did this so effectually during a campaign of two years, that not a trace of the aboriginal Aryan stock, the *Gabar* or fire-worshipper of Irán, is now to be found in the country. The only inhabitants of that mountain tract—the real Kóhi Káf of Orientals, the Paropamisus of the Greeks, the Indian Caucasus of Europeans—at the present day, are the descendants of the army of occupation left there by him. And though still pure Mughol in race type, and many of their customs, they know nought of their antecedents. They have entirely lost their language before that of their subsequent Persian rulers, and are now only known amongst their Afghan neighbours as the poor, mean, despicable, and heretic *Hazára* (evidently the designation of their original military divisional settlements), whom as being *Shia* it is lawful to oppress, enslave, and sell. The remarkable persistence of the race type of these Mughols during six hundred years is easily explained by the isolation of their position in an inaccessible and easily defended mountain country, whose natural outlets and affinities are more with the cognate races of the Oxus valley than with the foreign Aryan tribes of the Kabul highlands and the basin of Kandahar. But to return to our subject. P.

Whilst Aoktáy was marching to Kabul on this errand, Changíz went into winter quarters in Gabari or the Gabar country, (the country of the fire-worshippers, now known as Pakli and Swat), to wait the return of his envoys to the Emperor of Hindustán, Sultán Sáid, at Delhi, to ask his permission for a passage to Chín through Farájál and Kámruđ. During these three months he sent out parties in all directions to forage the country and reduce the forts held by the Irác troops amongst the mountains, whilst he spent his time in consulting the fates by burning the *Shána* or "Sheep scapula," a custom still common amongst the Hazára or Mughol of the Ghazni highlands. The omens by these were unpropitious, and his envoys, at the same time, returning with an unfavourable reply, Changíz at once set out across the snowy mountains, whilst it was yet winter, and, with great difficulty and loss of life made his way by Kabul and Káshghar to Turkistán. T. N.

His route was probably across the Swát country into the Kúnar valley, where Chagán Saráe, or "white hostelry," from its name attests Mughol occupation, and thence up the Chitrál valley, called also Káshkár through the easy Barogil Pass, which is practicable for half of the year, on to the plain of Káshghár. Such at least was the route taken by part of his army, if not by Changíz himself, who, according to the author of the *Tabcáti Nasiri* (a personal actor at Tolak in the defence against his invasion of Ghor), rejoined his camp with the heavy baggage, left at Naman Pushta in Tokharistan, and took it on with him to Samarcand, where he spent the spring and summer. P.

Here in 621 H.=1224 A.D. he held a *curultáy*, and divided his conquests amongst his sons. To Aoktay he gave the Eastern Tátár country, comprising China and Mongolia; its capital was Khanbaligh=Pekin. To Batu, the son and successor of Júji, he gave the Northern Tátár country, including Dásht Capchac; its capital was Saray on the Volga. To Chaghtáy he gave the middle Tátár kingdom, which comprised Mugholistan, that is Zunghár on the north, and Káshghar on the south, Máwaránahar, Khwáhrizm, and Afghanistan: its capital was Almaligh. And to Tuli he gave Khurásán and Iran; its capital was Tabriz. V.B. & Y.C.

Having thus disposed of his empire Changíz returned to his seat at Cará Coram, or Shamán Gara, and in *Zi Hijj* 621 H.=1225 A.D., after an absence of seven years, R.S.

R.S. rejoined his family. He here held a *Curultáy*, and celebrated his conquests by magnificent festivities. After these rejoicings he marched against Shandarca, the rebel Chief of Tangút, devastated his country and reduced him to subjection, but, restoring him to favour, gave him one of his daughters in marriage. This Chief, however, it appears, again rebelled, and Changíz taking the field against him was wounded by an arrow, and died from its effects in *Ramzán* 624 H.—18th August 1227 A.D. (Y. C.), aged seventy-three years, having reigned twenty-five. He was buried, by his own desire, without ostentation, at the roots of a tree in his favourite hunting grounds. He had more than five hundred wives, but only five were noted for birth and beauty combined. They were Parta Cochín, a noble lady of the Cúnghrát tribe, the mother of his noted sons. In his early wars she was taken prisoner by the Makrít, and delivered to Aong Khán. He kept her sometime, and on a cessation of hostilities restored her to Changíz, whom, shortly after her return, she presented with the son named Jújí—stranger. A stigma always attached to his parentage, and was the cause of his disagreement with his brothers, and subsequent separation from them. He died during the life of Changíz, and his son, Bátú Khán, inherited his share of the empire. Parta Cochín after him bore Changíz three sons, *viz.*, Aoktáy, Chaghtáy, and Túlí, and five daughters.

The other noted wives were Konjú, daughter of Altán Khan, King of Khítá; Kormay Sún, daughter of Táyáng Khán; Mysolon, the daughter of Jámkabúd; and Cúlán, the daughter of Táyrasún. The offspring of Changíz in a few generations exceeded ten thousand souls. He first instituted his celebrated *Yasá-Yúsún* code after the death of Aong Khán. On his coronation he confirmed it, and had it written in the Uyghúr character, which he adopted for the Mughol language. He first established the decimal system of military organization, and the several ranks and offices for the civil administration of the Mughol empire, and instituted the hunting circles, called *Jirga*, with the rules and regulations for their conduct, and the pains and penalties for their infraction. He was a just ruler, protected merchants and encouraged commerce, tolerated all religions, and was liberal to those who unconditionally surrendered to his authority; but to those who opposed him his only course was one of utter ruin and extermination. On the death of Changíz some confusion followed in the succession to the Chiefship, and it was not till the spring of the third year after, that Aoktáy was acknowledged *Khán* at a *Curultáy* held in his camp. At this assembly he was crowned King, and divided the treasures left by Changíz amongst his sons, and nobles and chiefs and troops. He performed the funeral obsequies of the departed conqueror, and sacrificing forty noble virgins to his manes consigned them to his grave as companions in the world he had gone to. On this occasion Aoktáy received the homage of his brothers and nobles nine times on bended knee (according to the Tátár observance of that number), after which they went out and knelt three times to the sun as witness to their sincerity. All criminals were pardoned up to date, and the *Yasá-Yúsún* of Changíz ordained as the rule of government. And thus was inaugurated the succession to the throne of Changíz.

After this *Curultáy*, in the spring of 627 H.—1229 A.D., Aoktáy with Chaghtáy, and Túlí, marched to the conquest of Khítá. Túlí died during the campaign from the effects of a fever contracted through an act of brotherly devotion, of which instances are not uncommon amongst Tátár tribes. He had, to save the life of the sick Aoktáy, voluntarily taken his disease to himself by drinking a cup of water in which it had been typically washed away from his afflicted brother. The Mughol army suffered great losses in this campaign from the effects of climate and disease, but their booty in captured women was so great that the districts depopulated from these causes were soon re-peopled by their offspring.

From the conquest of Khítá, Aoktáy returned to Cará Coram, and in the spring of 633 H.—1235 A.D. sent his son Kúyúk, and Bátú, the son of Jújí, and Mangú, the son of Túlí, and all the sons of Chaghtáy to the conquest of Rús, Charkas, and Bulghar, whilst he devoted his time to the restoration of the principal cities destroyed by his father, and the erection, at Cará Coram, of a magnificent palace for himself.

It is said to have covered several square miles of surface, and to have comprised separate suits of apartments for his several brothers and their families, besides hunting parks, flower gardens, fish ponds, &c., and all sorts of resorts for pleasure and amusement, with gorgeous pavilions and halls for music, dispersed over the grounds. In all these the workmanship was of the most elaborate and costly kind, and the handiwork of the most skilful artificers and masters from China and the countries of the west. On the return of the victorious armies from the latter direction, he held a *Cúrultáy* here, and in the midst of its magnificent ceremonies, and varied displays, its pleasures and festivities, the Great Lord of all the Tátár nations, the most puissant sovereign of the age, the Great Aoktáy Cáán, the successor of Changíz, died suddenly in 639 H. = 1241 A.D. as King of Iran and Turán on the west, and Mugholia and Khitá on the east. R.S.

Chaghtáy succeeded, and ruled the country from Irán to Cará Coram. He was a bigotted Buddhist and a confirmed drunkard, nevertheless the country during his rule flourished and prospered. He held his Court at Almáligh, between which and Bukhárá he established a post of express couriers for speedy intelligence. He died in the same year after Aoktáy, and left many sons, of whom Bísú, Borí, Bydar, and Basan Bocá were present at the Curultáy, when Kúyúk, son of Aoktáy, succeeded to the Khání. V.B.

Chaghtáy had nominated his grandson Cará Hulákú, a minor, to succeed him, and his mother, Abúskún, acted as regent, and put to death many State officers in the way of her ambition. On this Kúyúk deposed her, and disposing of other rivals, in 645 H. = 1247 A.D., appointed Bísú as successor to Chaghtáy.

This, however, led to anarchy at the capital, Almáligh, and disorder soon spread all over the country, and led ultimately to the dismemberment of the Chaghtáy empire, on the ruins of which, after the lapse of a hundred years of anarchy, usurpations, depositions, and murders amongst the Mughol Princes contending for power, was constructed the new kingdom of Mugholistán, or Jattah Ulús, by a Chaghtáy descendant. This kingdom of Mugholistán comprised the countries of Zúnghár and Káshghar on the north and south respectively of the Allah Tágh or Tianshán range of mountains. Y.C.

Kúyúk, after three years' reign, was succeeded by Mangú Khan, the eldest son of Túlí. He reinstated Cará Hulákú and Abúskún, and, deposing Bísú for rebellion against his authority, ordered Cará Hulákú to kill him; but both died before the mandate could be carried out. On this Mangú appointed Organa, the widow of Cará Hulákú, to the government of the Chaghtáy empire. She ruled in peace for ten years at Almáligh, and there, in 1254 A.D. (Y.C.) received Hulákú Khan, the second son of Túlí, and the Lord of the Western Tátár, when he was on his march from Cará Coram against the *muláhid* or "assassins" in Persia, where, after the conquest of Baghdád, he died at Maragha in Azarbiján, not long after his brother, Mangú, who died in 658 H. = 1259 A.D. at the siege of Tangtásh from the effects of excessive drinking during his campaign against China. On his death war broke out between his son and successor Cubláy Cáán, whose capital was at Khánbáligh, and Arik Búghá in the west. V.B.

Organa was now deposed by Algú, who fixed his seat at Almáligh as the protégé of Arik Búghá. But he soon revolted and joined Cubláy, who, whilst Arik Búghá was engaged against him in the west, advanced and seized Cará Coram. Arik Búghá now took Almáligh and drove out Algú, who fled first to Káshghar, and then to Khutan, and finally to Samarcand. Meanwhile Almáligh was devastated, famine followed, and thousands perished. Arik Búghá was now deserted by his Chiefs, and proposed peace provided he held the Chaghtáy country. Algú agreed to this, married Organa, and appointing Masáúd Beg, the Chaghtáy Governor of Máwaránahar, to act as Wazir, thus restored peace.

Algú now repelled the invasion of Turkistán by Caidú, the grandson of Aoktáy, who, aided by Bátú, contested the succession to the paramount *Khání* against Cubláy, and died soon after his wife in 662 H. = 1263 A.D. Cubláy then appointed

V.B. Mubárák Sháh, the son of Cará Huláku, Khan of the Chaghtáy *úls* = tribes, and Búrác, the great grandson of Chaghtáy as his Wazir.

P. In Mubárák Sháh we find the first Musalmán name amongst the Mughol rulers. The invasion of Changíz had given a decided check to the advance of that Islám, which had made such rapid progress in the conversion of this country to its doctrine in the two preceding centuries; for under his policy, which was followed by his immediate successors, of an impartial toleration of all creeds, the Muhammadan divines, deprived of their convincing argument with the sword, were brought down to the level of equality with the other religious propagandists of the time. And we find accordingly that for many years after the death of Changíz the diverse doctrines of Budha, Christ, and Muhammad flourished side by side, not, however, without emulous jealousy and rivalry. Yarkand itself, when Marco Polo visited the country in the reign of Cubláy Cásán, was a Bishop's see, as was Almálgh.

In the anarchy that soon divided the Changíz descendants, the professors of Islám gradually acquired the political ascendancy, and with it the advance of their religion gained a fresh impetus accompanied by all the enthusiasm and fanaticism that marked its earlier career here under the guidance of saintly teachers and miracle mongers, who claimed descent from their Prophet. Their success amongst the settled population in the cities and towns, and in the rural districts generally, was rapid and enduring, and led in the end, as will be seen in the sequel, to the government of the country passing into the hands of the priesthood.

This was more especially the case in the Western States of Káshghar up to Kúchá, which were nearer to Bukhárá, the centre of the Islam polity in Central Asia. Whilst beyond it, to the east, owing to the more immediate influence of the Buddhism of China, the religion of the Prophet has never taken so firm a hold of the people, and even amongst the nomad tribes, who are more or less in direct contact with or dependent on the Musalmán population of the settled country, is more nominal than real unto the present day.

In the struggle for supremacy between these two religions here, Buddhism and Muhammadanism, the Christianity, which in the early centuries of their rivalry held such a prominent and prior position in all the vast region of Central Asia, has left not a trace by which its former existence here can now be recognized. This is not to be wondered at if we consider the jealous intolerance of the Musalmán rulers, and the vigilant hostility that has even up to the present day enabled them to exclude all professors of the rival and superior doctrine from the pale of their subjects, and too often to prevent their even living in their countries as mere sojourners for a period. Let us hope, however, that brighter days are in store for the Christian in Central Asia, and that the enlightened toleration of the west may yet ere long extend its blessings of religious liberty to this region of blind bigotry and ignorant fanaticism.

V.B. Mubárák Sháh, the first Musalmán on the throne at Almálgh, was soon ousted by his Wazir, Búrác, the next heir to the Chaghtáy *Khání*, who then, as a partizan of Cubláy, renewed the war with Caidú, till ultimately, in 667 H. = 1269 A.D., they swore mutual peace and friendship in a cup of mingled gold and blood on the plain north of the Jaxartes, and became *anda* = allies (a term of relationship applied to men who are married to sisters), and shared the country between them. Bukhárá and Samarcand were held by Búrác, and Káshgar and Yarkand up to Cará Khoja, with the Talas river valley, and the country from Lake Balkash to Chagán Nor, that is Zungharia and Káshgharia, were held by Caidú.

After this Búrác warred with Abaka, son and successor of Huláku, as King of Persia, but was defeated near Herat, and returning to Bukhárá, died there in the spring of 669 H. = 1270 A.D. And Caidú then became master of the whole territory of Máwaránahar and Turkistán. He appointed Nekbay, the son of Sarban, to the *Khání* of the Chaghtáy *úls*.

On this the sons of Búrác and Algú united in revolt. Nekbay too revolted and was killed, and Toctymúr was appointed to govern the Chaghtáy *úls*. He was

presently ousted by Dava = camel, the son of Búrác, who held Khutan (where he was buried) as an ally of Caidú, by whom he was now, in 671 H. = 1272 A.D., set on the throne of Chaghtáy (Y.C.) V.B.

Dava Khan after this put an end to all other Aoktáy rivals, and added Turkistán north of the Jaxartes to the Chaghtáy dominions. On the return of Tymúr Cáán, the son and successor of Cubláy (under whose glorious reign the indolence and barbarity of the Mughol character was greatly improved and softened by their contact with the industry and polish of the Chinese), from his raid down to Lahore Dava joined Caidú against him. The hostile armies met and fought 701 H. = 1301 A.D. in the country between Cará Coram and the Tárím river of Lob (in the vicinity probably of Caráshahr the modern site of the ancient Jálísh). Caidú was defeated, and, dying on his way home, was succeeded by his son Chaba or Shabar. He and Dava now united in submission to Tymúr Cáán, but they soon after quarrelled. Tymúr Cáán attacked Chaba, 703 H. = 1303 A.D., between Samarcand and Khujand, whilst Dava seized all the Chaba territory and reunited the Chaghtáy empire as before its division by Caidú (Y.C.)

This did not last long, however, for Dava died in 706 H. = 1306 A.D., and the people of Eastern Turkistán, who had been under Caidú rule, such as the Uyghúr of Káshgar, Yarkand, and Allahtágh (Alatagh), preferred a separate rule to that of the Musulmán of Máwaránahar, and, finding no Chaghtáy descendant amongst them, invited Aymil Khoja, the son of Dava Khán, to be their ruler. He was succeeded in 1347 A.D. by Toghlúc Tymúr, who thus once more re-established the eastern branch of the Chaghtáy *Khani*, known as the kingdom of Mugholistán or the Jattah *ulús*, whose capital was at Káshghar first, then at Yárkand, and later at Acús, with the summer quarters at Athashi on the Upper Nárín to the north of the Allah-tágh. Y.C.

Meanwhile in Máwaránahar another son of Dava, named Konjuk, had ascended the throne. He died very shortly, and then Talikada, a descendant of Moaltakin, a Chaghtáy, who was killed at Bámyán, succeeded. He accepted Islám, and was the second convert amongst Mughol rulers. He was soon killed by his nobles, who then set Kabak, another son of Dava, on the throne. Chaba warred with him, and was defeated. Kabak now resigned the Government to an elder brother, Eshán Boghá, who was chief of the Chaghtáy *ulús* from 709 H. = 1309 A.D. to 716 H. = 1316 A.D. He conquered Khurásán up to the Murgháb river in 1315 A.D. In retaliation for this Oljátú, the Mughol King of Persia, under the name of Khudá Banda, sent an army with a convert brother of Eshán Boghá, named Yasavar (and a refugee with him) to ravage Máwaránahar. They massacred, pillaged, and captivated the population up to Samarcand in the depth of winter. Eshán Boghá now disappeared, and Kabak, resuming the Government, punished his rebel brother, and died 721 H. = 1321 A.D. V.B.

After this followed many years of rivalry and anarchy under successive Chiefs, till the time of Kábil Sháh in 1363 A.D. During this period, since the invasion of Changíz, the Mughol character succumbed to the superior physique and innervation of their subjects of the Caucasian stock, and their manners and religion declined before the advancing force of a revived Islám.

After the death of Kabak, the Khání of the Chaghtáy empire in 1321 A.D. Y.C. fell to the hands of Elchí Gadáy, who was succeeded by Tarmashírín Khán. He became a convert to Islám, and, adopting the name 'Aláuddín, abandoned Almáligh, the later capital of the Mughols—the first and original capital was Beshbáligh—and removed his Court to Máwaránahar. He was dethroned 1334-35 A.D. by his brother Búzún Khán. He persecuted the Musálmans, who at this time everywhere displayed a remarkable activity and zeal in propagating their polity and creed; but was very soon deposed by Chansi, or Jinkshi Khan, also of the Chaghtay line, to whom Pope Benedict XII. in 1338 A.D. addressed a letter of thanks for the protection he afforded to Christians.

He in turn was shortly ousted from the Government by Yesuntimur, and he again, in 1338-39 A.D., by 'Alí Sultán, that "certain villian of a falconer, a Saracen

Y.C. of the blood royal," by whose orders the Christian Missionaries and the Bishop of the See were martyred at Almáligh (in 1339-40 A.D.), where presently he was ousted by the Amír Kazghan, or Kazan, who reigned till 1346 A.D., and was the last effective Khán of the main Chaghtáy branch.

After his death in that year, the successive rulers of the Chaghtáy *úlu*s were mere puppets in the hands of the Amírs, or Provincial Military Governors, who set up and knocked down much at their pleasure, till the time of Tymúr. And even he at the height of his power maintained a titular successor to the Chaghtáy throne. The last of these, Sultán Muhammad Khán, died on active service in Tymúr's Anatolia campaign in 1403 A.D.

T.R. The first of these rulers of the Chaghtáy *úlu*s, or Mughol Khans, as they are called, was Toghlúc Tymúr, who was set on the throne in succession to the Amír Kazghan by the Amír Boláji of Acsú. His history, as given in the *Türkhi Rashádi*, a history of the Mughol Khans, written by Mirza Hyder in Kashmir, 952H=1544A.D., may be thus summarized.

Toghlúc Tymúr Khán was the son of Eshán Boghá, the son of Dava, the son of Búrác, the son of Cará Bísú, the son of Mangú, the son of Chaghtáy, the son of Changíz. Eshán Boghá had many wives. Of these Sátelmish Kháton was the chief, but she was barren. He went on an expedition into Máwaránahar, and left her in charge of his other wives. According to the ancient custom of the country the chief wife, in the absence of her husband, had supreme control of his other wives, and power to dispose of them as she pleased. Sátelmish now found one of Eshán Boghá's wives, Minílik Kháton by name, was pregnant, and, becoming jealous, gave her away in marriage to a noble, named Sharáol Dukhtoy.

On his return home Eshán Boghá was grieved to learn this, and soon after died, leaving no successor to the Government. The Mughol tribes consequently soon became divided by anarchy and dissension till Amir Boláji, Doghlát, produced the rightful heir. He sent one Tásh Tymúr—"Iron stone," with a flock of sheep for his sustenance, to wander amongst the Mughol tribes, discover the camp of Sharáol Dukhtoy, and find out if Minílik had borne a son. And if so to steal and bring him away. Tásh Tymúr, after long wandering, arrived at the camp of Sharáol, when only one blue goat of his flock of three hundred remained. He found that Minílik had two sons: the one by Eshán Boghá called Toghlúc Tymúr; and the other by Sharáol, called Anjú Malik.

He stole away Toghlúc, and joining a caravan, brought him by way of the Múzart, or "Glacier Pass," to his master at Acsú. In crossing the glacier his youthful charge fell into a crevasse, and was extricated from his perilous position in the bottom of the chasm by means of a ladder of ropes, through the aid of the merchants of the caravan, headed by their leader Begjik. For his success in this enterprise, and the circumstance of the one remaining goat when he found Toghlúc, the adventurous Tásh Tymúr got the soubriquet of *Kok Ajku*=Bluegoat.

Amír Boláji was originally of an Acsú family. When Chaghtáy divided his kingdom into military commands, he gave the Mangaláy Súbah—"the Front division" to Aortobá, the grandfather of Boláji. Its boundaries on the east are Kohistán and Tábogor; on the west Sám and Jáh Cásman, which is the end of the Farghána country; on the north Isíghkol; and on the south Cháchan and Sárígh Uyghúr.

Amír Boláji succeeded to this command, and its chief cities, in his time, were Khutan, Yarkánd, Kásán, Uzkand, Andiján, Atbáshí, Kosán, and Acsú. This last was the capital of Boláji.

Toghlúc Tymúr was sixteen years old when he arrived at Acsú, and two years later, about 1332 A.D., Boláji set him up as Khán; and he was so acknowledged by all Mugholistán and most of the Chaghtáy country. He became a convert to Islám, and the author I am quoting gives the following account in connection with the event:—

When Changtíz took Bukhárá he slew most of the Musalmán clergy there, with their High Priest Khoja Háfizuddín; but he spared Maulána Shujáuddín Mahmúd and his family, and sent them to Cará Coram. On the fall of that city, his sons went and settled at Lob and Katak, large cities between Turfán and Khutan. Here they left large families. The last representative of these was Shekh Jamáluddín. He resided in Katak, and fled from it when the place was buried by a hurricane of sand, which fell from the sky as does rain.

The wind sometimes blows away this sand, and exposes to view domes and minarets, which again become buried by fresh drifts of sand. At times houses, too, are thus exposed, and wandering shepherds relate that their furniture is discovered intact, and the occupants are seen standing as bleached skeletons, or lying prostrate as desiccated bodies just in the attitudes in which they were overwhelmed; and all uninjured by decay.

The Shekh foresaw the impending calamity, and warned the citizens of it a week beforehand, and taking leave of his congregation at the Friday prayers, quitted the city and escaped the approaching destruction. He came to Acsú by way of Ay Kol two years after the arrival there of Toghlúc Tymúr, and met the young Chief on a hunting excursion in the vicinity as he approached the city. He was seized, and taken before Toghlúc for infringing the rule to fall in with the *jirga*—"hunting circle" on meeting it, and in excuse pleaded ignorance as a stranger coming from Katak. Toghlúc was at the time feeding one of his hounds on boar's flesh, and turning scornfully towards the Musalmán thus addressed him—"Ho! Tájik! Art thou the better or this dog? "The Shekh promptly replied—"Since I have the faith I am the better. Without it the dog is better than me." This bold answer made an impression on Toghlúc, and on his return home he sent for the Tájik, and enquired of him what the faith was that made him better than a dog. The Shekh explained the *imán*—"Faith," and set before him the tenets of Islám. Toghlúc was struck by the merits of the doctrine, and promised to accept the "Faith" on becoming King, as he now feared the hostility of his people.

The Shekh soon after died, and committed the charge of converting the Mughol Prince to his son, Arshaduddín. Following this Toghlúc went to Mugholistan to receive the allegiance of the Cirghíz, Jattah, &c., and was there proclaimed King. Arshaduddín, in obedience to his father's behest, set out for the royal camp, and at daylight after arrival there chaunted the Muhammadan call to prayer near the King's tent. He was seized and taken before the Khán for making such an untimely noise and disturbing his slumber. Toghlúc asked him who he was, and what he meant. "I am," replied the Musalmán priest with characteristic fervour and independence, "the son of him to whom you gave your word to accept Islám on becoming King, and, by his dying injunction, I have come for its fulfilment. Toghlúc, true to his promise, welcomed him cordially, treated him with marked deference, and accepting Islám at his hands, summoned his nobles one by one and invited them to follow his example.

Amír Tolak, the brother of Boláji, who at that time held the rank of Doghlát, and had three years before, when Governor of Káshghar, secretly become a Musalmán, was now the first to make a public profession of the Faith; and others following the example, they went from tent to tent and speedily converted most of the Chiefs. The Jarás nobles, however, refused to follow suit, unless their champion, one Sanghoy Bocá, was first thrown in wrestling with the Tájik. The new converts opposed the demand on the grounds of the manifest inequality of the combatants; but the Shekh, interposing, accepted the challenge, saying that his trust was in God for the victory. The Jarás champion scornfully, in the pride of his strength, seized the puny Tájik to throw him, but the priest of Islám solemnly planted the palm of his hands on his adversary's breast, and repeated an appropriate text from the Curán touching the repulsion and overthrow of the unbeliever, and the pagan champion fell senseless to the ground. On his recovery he acknowledged his discomfiture as a

T.B. divine warning and without hesitation accepted the Faith; and one hundred and sixty thousand people followed his example. Toghlúc Tymúr was at this time twenty years of age, and he died ten years later in 764H.=1362 A.D.

V.B. In the anarchy following on the death of Amír Kazghan, the Jaláyr north of Samarcand, and the Suldoz in Kish and Nakhshab became independent, and others set up for themselves in different parts of the country.

T.R. Toghlúc Tymúr on becoming King of the Chaghtáy *úls* found this anarchy reigning in Máwaránahar, and in Rabí Thání 761H.=1359-60 A.D., thirty years after the death of Tarmashírín Khán, invaded the country, and restored a short lived order. At Khujand he received the submission of Amír Báyzíd Jaláyr, and at Cárshí drove Amír Hájí Birlás, to retreat across the Oxus into Khurásán. Tymúr, who now first appears on the scene of Asiatic politics, in the history of which his career fills so eventful a page, appealed to him not to desert the country without a struggle, and himself, collecting a force at Kish, advanced to Khazár to oppose the enemy who were coming on plundering the country under the guidance of Hájí Muhammad Sháh Yasaví.

But Toghlúc meantime had reached the capital, and Tymúr, unable to check the invaders, turned and repairing to him there, tendered submission. Toghlúc was favorably impressed by the rising conqueror, and reinstating him in the Government of Kish and its dependencies, retired from the country. On his departure the Amírs Hájí Birlás, Khizr Yasavi, and Tymúr united in revolt against the Mughol. Consequently Toghlúc again invaded Máwaránahar with a numerous army in *Jamádi Awwal* of the following year. The Amírs Báyzíd and Bayán Suldoz submitted, and accompanied the Mughol army to Samarcand, but Hájí Birlás and his brother, Aydko, opposing, were driven into Khurásán. They escaped to Sabzwár, and were there slain by the people of Karásha, in the Juwen *bulúk* or "district." In after years, when Tymúr conquered Khurásán, he avenged their death by a massacre of the people, and grant of the country in fief to the heirs of his murdered kinsmen. In this second campaign, Toghlúc, on the recommendation of the Amír Hamíd, Kurulkút, one of the wisest and most influential of the Jattah nobles, re-confirmed Tymúr in the Government of Kish, and, in the same winter, took the field against Amír Husen, who held out at Cundúz. Toghlúc crossed the Wakhs river, and passed through the narrow and difficult pass of Darband Ahanín—"iron barrier," beyond which he was joined by Kaikhusro of Khatlán, who had deserted from Amír Husen, then in full flight down the Oxus. Toghlúc crossed the river to Cundúz, and passed the spring and summer in subjugating the country up to Hindúkush. He returned to Samarcand in the autumn; executed Bayán Suldoz, and many other troublesome Chiefs, and having established his son, Ilyás Khoja, as governor of Máwaránahar, with Begjik, a Jattah noble, as minister, and Tymur as councillor, returned to Mugholistán.

V.B. On the departure of the Mughol army, Tymúr disagreed with Begjik, and, effecting his escape with his wife Olja Turkán, joined Husen in the Khivá desert. From this date commenced that extraordinary career of this second world conqueror of modern times—the "scourge of God" over the whole Asiatic continent, the China region excepted. Here we are only concerned to notice that portion of his devastating career connected with the history of this country.

Tymúr was born in the Shahrísuz suburb of Kish on Tuesday, 5th *Sha'ban* 736H.=1333A.D., and was the son of Turgháy, the Chief of the Birlás tribe, and Governor of Kish on behalf of the Amír Kazghan. His father sent him for service to the Court, and Kazghan being favorably impressed by the bearing of the youth, gave him in marriage the celebrated Olja Turkán Kháton (the daughter of his son, Salah Khán), the devoted partner of his early adventures and misfortunes; and appointing him *Ming-báshi*—"commander of a thousand," took him along with his army on the campaign against Husen Kurd of Khurásán.

Both Amír Kazghan and Turgháy died soon after this expedition, and Husen, succeeding his father in the Government, appointed Tymúr to the charge of Kish in

succession to Turgháy. But anarchy and disorder soon spread all over the country, and brought about the invasion of Toghluć above noticed. Tymúr, after his escape from Samarcand, wandered a toilsome and adventurous month in the desert, where he was captured by the slave-hunting Turkmán. He, however, effected his escape with Olja, and returning secretly to Kish, raised a band of adventurers, and sought a career for himself by a raid into Sístán. Here he was wounded by an arrow in the right foot and lamed for life, and thus got the name of Tymúr Lang="Tymúr the Lame," the famous Tamerlane of history. V.B.

Whilst he was laid up with this wound Amír Husen seized Balkh, and Tymúr joined him there. At this time their united forces numbered only fifteen hundred men. Ilyás Khoja sent a force against them, but it was defeated near Cundúz in 765H.=1363 A.D., and as he presently heard of the death of his father, Toghluć, Ilyás hurried off from Samarcand to secure the throne at Almáligh. Tymúr on this drove the Jattah out of Máwaránahar, and returning from Táshkand entered Samarcand, and was well received. He held a Curultáy and set Kábil Sháh on the throne.

In the following spring Ilyás returned with a large army to recover Máwaránahar, and was met in opposition by the Amírs Husen and Tymúr. A battle ensued on the muddy plain of Læe="Mud" on the banks of the Bádám river between Chinás and Táshkand in *Ramazan* 766H.=1364 A.D. In the fight Husen quarrelled with Tymúr, and quitting the field, retired to Sále Saráe. Tymúr thus deserted withdrew to Carshí and Balkh, whilst Ilyás advancing set siege to Samarcand. A plague now broke out in his camp, and he was forced to retreat as best he could, having lost many men and most of his cattle. T.R.

Tymúr and Husen now warred for the mastery, and, finally, after years of alternate reconciliations and hostilities, Husen surrendered at Balkh, and was there executed 771H.=1369 A.D. Tymúr now held a *Curultáy*, and in Turk fashion was raised aloft on a white felt, and proclaimed King of Máwaránahar as Amír Tymúr Gúrikán, with the title of Sháh Sáhíbi Carán, on Wednesday, 12th *Ramazan* of the same year (Z.N.T.). From this he crossed to Samarcand, and fixing it as the capital of the Chaghtáy Empire now revived in his person, built its fort, and established the *Yúsó* of Changíz as the law of the land (T.R.). V.B.

In the winter following this the restless Jattah again invaded Máwaránahar. Tymúr drove them across the Syhon, and subjugating the Kumza' and Ortagtamúr tribes on the frontier, returned to his capital. Whilst he was absent on this expedition the Sháh of Badakhshán, Shekh 'Ali, invaded Cundúz, and plundered the country; consequently Tymúr at once set out again to punish him. T.R.

He marched by way of Táلكhán and Kishm, forced the obstinately defended passes of Gokus and Jurm, and came up with the Badakhshi Sháh in the deep and strongly barricaded glen of Artunj-darra, at the junction of two swift torrents. Tymúr drove him from this position to Canagh Aolang, where crossing the head waters of the Jyhon, the fugitive King stood to defend its passage. Sheik 'Ali was here taken prisoner, and his army dispersing for the most part escaped into the neighbouring glens. In the pursuit Tymúr got entangled in the mountains, and was surrounded and nearly captured in a deep and winding defile by a party of the Badakhshí highlanders. Z.N.T.

His escape was merely due to the impudent temerity of his few attendants, who rushing in amongst the ignorant Tájik, slapped them in the face, and with affronted dignity demanded if they knew who it was they dared to press around so disrespectfully. On hearing the already dread name of the rising conqueror, the simple mountaineers at once tendered submission, and suing for pardon, restored the prisoners and captives they had captured. Tymúr in after years often referred to this fight as the hardest and most perilous of the many he had engaged in, and the country as the most rugged and difficult of any he had seen in all his varied experiences. Yet he did not fail to punish in an exemplary manner his soldiers who, on this occasion, allowed themselves to be captured by the enemy.

T. R. On the death of Toghlúc Tymúr his son, Ilyás Khoja, hastening up from Samarcand, as stated, succeeded to the throne at Almáligh in 1364 A.D.; but, on his return to Mugholistán in the following year from his disastrous attempt to recover Máwaránahar, he was seized and killed by Amír Camaruddín, who had usurped the Government and murdered all the descendants of Toghlúc he could lay hands on. Eighteen Mughol Princes were killed by him in one day; but, Khizr Khoja, the youngest son of Toghlúc, a boy of twelve years, and the only surviving member of the family, was rescued by Khudádád, the Amír of Kashghar and nephew of the usurper, and sent away by him with his mother, Mir Aghá, and some trusty adherents for concealment in the mountains of Bolor.

This Camaruddín was one of five brothers who held district Governments in Mugholistán as heirs of former Amírs originally appointed by Changiz. They were Tolak at Káshghar, Bolaji at Acsú, Camaruddín at Atbáshí, Shamsuddín, who was present at the battle of Lác, and Shekh Daulat, of whom there is no trace. Tolak, the eldest, was succeeded in the *úls-begi* by Boláji; and he by his son, Khudádád, who was seven years old when his father died.

Z.N.T. Whilst Amír Camaruddín was thus securing his usurped rule in Mugholistán, the Amírs Husen and Tymúr were contesting the mastery in Máwaránahar; and, on the final accession of the latter to the throne at Samarcand, his first care was to repel the encroachments of the Jattah Mughol on the Táshkand frontier, as before mentioned. The submission then exacted did not prove effective, and the Jattah, taking advantage of Tymúr's absence in the campaigns against Badakhshán and Khwáhrizm, made repeated incursions across the border into Máwaránahar.

Whilst engaged in his first campaign against Khívá, Tymúr in the spring of 773 H.=1371 A.D. sent a force under Bahrám Jaláyr and Khítáy Bahadur to repel the Jattah incursions. They drove the enemy across the border, and pursuing, devastated the country up to Almátú or Almátí, where, defeating the Karait, they concluded peace. It did not last long, however, and Tymúr, on his return from Khwáhrizm, took the field with a numerous army against Camaruddín, the Jattah Chief. He took flight to the mountains, and Tymúr, after ravaging the country up to Sikiz Aghach—"Eight trees" in the vicinity of Isigh Kol, returned with innumerable captives and cattle.

Following this came Tymúr's second campaign against Khiva in 774 H.=1372 A.D., whence he brought away Súlyún (daughter of Yúsuf Súfi, who died in the first siege), whose marriage with his son, Jahángír, he celebrated on return to the capital. Meanwhile the irrepressible Camaruddín continued his incursions on the borders of Táshkand. Consequently, Tymúr took the field on his third campaign against the Jattah.

He set out from Samarcand on Thursday 1st *Shábán* 776 H.—1374 A.D., but was forced to return after a few marches owing to the intensity of the cold, and loss of men and cattle in the frosts, winds, and snows. He set out again two months later with a recruited army, and sent Jahángír ahead with the vanguard by Syrám to Kok-tappa, where Camaruddín was camped. He drove the Jattah army from this position, and pursued them to their stronghold, Barka Corghán, a small castle in the highest of three dark and deep glens, each of which was occupied by a swift and copious torrent. Camaruddín and his nomads, scared by the boldness of their pursuers, fled during the night, and Jahángír then, plundering the country along the Ayla River, took whole camps of the Jattah prisoners, and marched them off under escort to Samarcand by order of Tymúr, who next sent him in pursuit of Camaruddín to Pae-tágh—"Mountain Base".

The Chief escaped into the mountains, but his principal settlement at Úch-Burhán or Úch Turfán, together with his treasures and family, fell into the hands of Jahángír, who, returning thence, joined his father, after an absence of fifty-three days, at Cará Casmác, and rendered up his captives and plunder. Tymúr distributed these amongst his soldiers, but reserved the prize of all,—the lovely Dilshád Agha—"Lady

Heart's Joy," the daughter of the fugitive Jattah Chief—for himself, and a few days later, crossing Atbáshi to Arpa Yázi plain, there celebrated his marriage with her by magnificent ceremonies, and a round of splendid festivities, amidst which he was sumptuously entertained by Mubárah Shah, the Makrit Chief of the country, who presented gifts in the customary rotation of nine of each kind. After these rejoicings Tymúr crossed the 'Ueba Yási Pass to Úzkand, where he was joined by his first wife, Olja Turkán; and thence, with a succession of festivities and entertainments, in which he escaped more than one plot against his life, returned to his capital. Z.N.T.

In the spring of the next year, 777H. = 1375 A.D., Tymúr detailed a force of thirty thousand horse under Amir Sárbohá with 'Adilsháh Jaláyr, Khitáy Bahádur, and Elchiboghá, to hunt down and kill Camaruddín, who had again renewed his attacks on the frontier; and, appointing Acboghá to the Government of Samarcand, himself set out on his third expedition against Khiva.

On his departure Sárbohá and 'Adilsháh revolted, and, seizing the other two, besieged Samarcand. Tymúr hastened back to the relief of the capital, but the rebels, escaping into the Capchác country, there, in the absence of Urús Khan amongst his nomads, killed his minister Uji Báý, and passing on, joined Camaruddín. With him they invaded Andiján, held by 'Umar Shekh as Governor for Tymúr, and drew off the Cazzác tribes from him to their own party.

In consequence of this Tymúr, having secured Samarcand, set out on his fourth campaign against the Jattah of Mugholistán. Camaruddín retired to Atbáshi, and, sending off his people and cattle to Isigh Kol, lay in ambush with four thousand horse at Sóng Kol. He surprised Tymúr and a small escort with him, but was driven back and pursued to Sikiz Aghach. Here Tymúr heard of the death of his favourite son, Jahángir, at Samarcand, and, leaving a force under 'Umar Shekh, with Acboghá, Khitáy Bahádur and others to carry on the war, himself hurried back to the capital, where he was met by the populace in ashes and mourning.

Camaruddín, after a long chase, again escaped his pursuers to the Corátu Desert; and they returned having plundered the country thus far, and executed the rebellious 'Adilsháh, whom they captured wandering in a demented state in the hills near the Acsúmá tower—a red brick pillar built on the Cará Chác hill as an outlook upon the Capchác plain.

After the funeral obsequies of his son, Tymúr, in 778H. = 1376 A.D., set out on his fifth campaign against the restless Camaruddín. The advance was led by Muhammad Beg, the son of Amír Músá, and he came up with the enemy at Boghám Isigh Kol. The Chief was not found, but his army and camp, after a short struggle, were captured. In this expedition Tymúr learned that Toctamish, the son of Urús Khan, was coming to seek his protection. He left an *Amíri tumán*—"Commander of ten thousand" to meet and escort the refugee from Capchác, and meanwhile pursued his return march to the capital by the route through Cohcár and Jumghál to Úzkand in Farghána. At Samarcand he received Toctamish, and, loading him with favors, adopted him as his son, and gave him Atrár and Syrám to hold as a frontier against his brother Toctá Káyá.

In this last campaign against the Jattah, Camaruddín, who was of such vast size that a child of seven years could stand in one of his boots, was unable to keep his saddle owing to dropsy and a foul disease in the groin. His people, on the close approach of Tymúr, concealed him in a forest at Kolmá Cájor, with a supply of food and a couple of slaves to attend him; but he was never again seen or heard of. On his disappearance peace and order were once more restored to the Jattah of Mugholistán.

During the period Camaruddín held rule over Mugholistán, Khizr Khoja, the heir of Toghluç Tymúr, was wandering in exile amongst the mountains on the opposite borders of the country, moving from place, to place, as his hiding was discovered by the pursuing emissaries of the usurper. From Bolor he was successively carried out of harm's way to the mountain retreats of Badakhshán, Khutan, and Sárigh Uyghúr, T.R.

T.R. and finally to the Calmác settlements about Katak and Lob. And thus he spent the twelve years from the death of his father to that of his persecutor.

On the disappearance of Camaruddin, his nephew, Khudádád, the Amír of Káshghar, assumed the Government of the Jattah tribes; and, after restoring order amongst them, re-called Khizr from his retreat at Lob, and, in 1383 A.D. (Y. C.), set him on the throne at Káshghar as Khán of Mugholistán. Khizr now allied with Tymúr, and sent him as a gift the beautiful Tokal Khánim, one of the widows of the late enemy of both.

He enforced a strict observance of the Muhammadan *Shari'at* amongst the Jattah nomads, who were still mostly Budhists; and next to Káshghar he made Turfán the second capital of the Mughol Khácán—the title he revived on ascending the throne. Tymúr died in his reign, and then Khizr, becoming more independent, restored the old Mughol form of government, which, during the disordered rule of his predecessor, had fallen to neglect. He now granted to his benefactor and friend, the Amir Khudádád, the rank and privileges that had been originally accorded by Changíz to his ancestor, Aortúbo, with the additions made thereto by Toghlúc Tymúr on behalf of Boláji, and by himself, now, in favour of his faithful adherent.

The privileges originally granted by Changíz were the following:—First, *Túmán-togh*="Banner of ten thousand men." Second, *Nacára*="Kettledrum." Third, *Cushún-togh*="Camp-banner," of which two were allowed. Fourth, *Cúr*="Armour," which none but the Khán had the power to remove from the person. Fifth, *Jirga*="Hunting circle," with power to punish according to rule those who infringed its regulations. Sixth, *Amiri-úlus*="Commander of his tribe." Seventh, *Sar-dúwán*="Top seat in Court," at a bow length on either side of the Khán. To these Toghlúc Tymúr added two others, namely: Eighth, *Amiri Cushún*="Command of a camp of one thousand men," with power to promote and reduce without reference to the Khán. Ninth, *Tarkhán*="Pardon of crime to the ninth conviction," for Amír Boláji and his direct heirs; on conviction of the tenth crime to be bled to death from both arms. Khizr Khoja now added another for Amír Khudádád, namely, tenth, *Yasáwul*="Provost," at feasts and entertainments. One *Yasáwul* of the Khán to be mounted on his right hand, and one *Yasáwul* of the Amír to stand on his right hand at Court. After drinking the cups to be sealed with their respective signets by the *Yasáwul*. He gave the title of *Gúrikán* also to Khudádád and made it hereditary.

These privileges and ranks descended from Amír Khudádád to his son Muhammad Sháh, and from him to his nephew Sayyid 'Ali, and then to his son Muhammad Hydar, and his son Muhammad Husen, and his son Mirzá Hydar (the author of *Táríkhé Rashídí*), and to his son Sayyid Muhammad, in whom they became extinct 940H.=1533 A.D.

Previous to the assumption of this royal prerogative, however, Khizr had to experience the weight of Tymúr's vengeance, when, in 791H.=1389-90 A.D., owing to the obstinate hostility of the Jattah, he undertook his final campaign for the subjugation of Mugholistán, after his return from the conquest of Afghánistán.

He took its capital, Almáligh, and ravaged the whole country up to Caidú, where he fixed his head-quarters. Here, in the charming and productive valley of Yuldúz, he enjoyed the delights of its climate, and the pleasures of its attractive scenery of clear streams, fresh meadows, and umbrageous forests, amidst a succession of feasts and hunting excursions; whilst his vast army in four grand divisions swept the whole country north and south of the Tianshán range, and finally rejoined him there with the world of their plunder and captives.

Of the two southern divisions, one ravaged the country from Andiján and Kashghár along the southern skirts of Allah-tágh or Ala-tágh to Cará Khoja beyond Turfán; whilst the other did likewise from Sárigh Cúl and Kokyár, along the north base of the Khutan and Sárigh Uyghúr country, across by Katak and Lob to the appointed rendezvous. At Yuldúz Tymúr divided the spoil amongst his troops, transported whole tribes of the population to Samarcand, restored Khizr to the

government of his crushed and crippled people, married his daughter, and, leaving the main army with its train of captives to follow, set off with a party of light horse on the 15th *Sha'bán* and arrived at Samarcand 7th *Ramazán* 791H., thus accomplishing a journey of three months in as many weeks. T.B.

In this campaign the divisions operating on the north of the Alátágh overran the whole country between the sandy steppes on the north and the green vallies of Yuldúz on the south. They took the royal city of Aymil Guja, which, according to Yule, was probably built on the bank of the Aymil river from the Alákol, and was the original capital of the refugee Khitáy, who founded the Cará Khitáy empire, and is now represented by, probably, Chughuchak of Turbaghátai.

One more expedition was sent in the following spring against Anga Tora of Carátal, an active ally of Khizr in the last campaign. The invaders devastated afresh the country up to Almáligh, and, driving Anga Tora from his capital, pursued him to the River Irtish, beyond which he escaped into the county of Tolus, whence come the *Sumúr* = sable, *Cácúm* = otter, and other furs. Z.N.T.

After this Týmúr was occupied for many years in his western conquests, and the invasion of India. On his return to Samarcand, for the nineteenth time, with the spoils and treasures of one-half the Asiatic continent, his insatiable pride and ambition led him to undertake the conquest of the other.

Amongst the vast preparations set on foot for the conquest of China, he sent orders to Khizr Khoja, his feudatory in Mugholistán, to sow the land at Kok-tappa with corn, and there to collect cattle for his army about to march that way. Khizr was there with the Amír Khudádád, in the early spring of 807H. = 1405 A.D., to superintend the collection of supplies for the advancing host. One day as he and his friend were seated in their camp discussing affairs over a social cup of *cumiz* = fermented mare's milk, a figure in white, mounted on a black horse, suddenly dashed past the guards, and galloping into camp made for the spot where they were seated, and announcing in a loud voice "Amír Týmúr lies dead at Atrár," suddenly disappeared from sight before the guards running up from all sides could stop him. "A *jinn* = 'ghost' most likely" remarks the historian I quote, "for confirmation of the fact was not received till forty-five days later." Týmúr crossed the Syhon on the ice, and was obliged to halt at Atrár, also called Táráb, on account of an inflammation of the lungs. The disease rapidly increased, and after a delay here of seven or eight days he died from its effects, on the 7th *Shá'bán* 807 H. = 17th February 1405 A.D. (V.B.) T.B.

Khizr Khoja ruled independently for several years after this, and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Khan, who was the last of the Mughol Khácán. He was a wealthy, just, and powerful Prince, and converted all his people to Islám, yet so jealous was he of the turban, the outward emblem of the Faith, being worn by any but the priesthood and his own officials, that he punished any of the Tatar peasantry who dared to desecrate the sacred head-piece, by securing their own national fur caps upon their heads by horse shoes pegged to their skulls.

The Mughol have no record of the date of his birth or death; but, Ulugh Beg in Máwaránahar, and Sháhrúkh in Khurásan, were his contemporaries. He was succeeded by his son Sher Muhammad Khan, during whose reign the country enjoyed security and prosperity. His brother, Sher Ali Oghlán, died aged eighteen years during his life, and left a son named Wais Khán. He rebelled against his uncle, and formed a band of *cazzác* = robber, with whom he harried the Máwaránahar border. He was joined by adventurers and discontents from all parts of the country, and, amongst others of note, by Sayyid Ali, the grandson of Khudádád, as will be presently related.

On the death of Týmúr, his only surviving son, Sháhrúkh, was at Herat, so he appointed his grandson, Pír Muhammad, as his successor. But, whilst he was debauching at Kabul, Sultán Khalíl, the son of Míránsháh, who happened to be with the army, got possession of Samarcand. Pír Muhammad now contested the V.B.

V.B. throne, but was slain at Shuborghán, in 809 H.=1406A.D., by his own *Wazír*, Pir Ali Táz.

Khudádád then opposed Khalíl, who had estranged the nobles from his support by his unseemly and infatuated love for Shádulmulkh="the country's joy;" on whom, whilst neglecting for her service the affairs of his government, he squandered, to the just indignation and disgust of the royal ladies of the harem, the vast treasures left by Tymúr. Khalíl by his folly, and the discontent it gave rise to, soon fell under the power of his rival, to whom he was delivered by his own Generals. Khudádád sent him to Káshghar, and, taking possession of the capital, exposed to ridicule and insult in its streets the luxurious and fascinating Shádulmulk, the former slave of Hájí Syfuddín and now the wife of the infatuated Khalíl, who, in his exile, instead of exerting himself to recover his independence and lost power, did nothing but waste his time in maudlin versification of the idol of his love. Sháhrúkh, hearing of the downfall of his nephew, marched from Herat against Khudádád, who fled to Táshkand and sought the aid of the Mughol King; but he killed him, and sent his head to Sháhrúkh as a token of friendship. Sháhrúkh, having thus secured the submission of all Máwaránahar, recalled Khalíl from Káshghar, and, restoring to him his love, sent him to the government of Irác, on the way whither he died, 812 H.=1409A.D.; and appointed his own eldest son, the celebrated Ulugh Beg, to the government of Máwaránahar.

T.R. At this time the Amír Khudádád was in attendance on Muhammad Khan in Mugholistán, and had left his son, Sayyid Ahmad, to govern at Káshghar. He was deaf and had an impediment in his speech, and was altogether a weak and unpopular ruler; and was soon deposed by Khoja Sharif, one of the city magnates, who invited Ulugh Beg over, and delivered the city to him.

Ahmad fled to his father in Mugholistán, and died there soon after; and the aged Khudádád then adopted his son, Sayyid 'Ali as his favourite. He was a fine soldierly youth, and a noted hunter, but, seemingly, as liable as others to the tender emotions of love. When Ahmad Mirzá of the Tymúr family fled from Sháhrúkh, he sought asylum with Amír Khudádád in Mugholistán. He was accompanied by his sister, and with this young lady Sayyid Ali fell in love. When they left on their return homewards he accompanied the refugees on a promise of marriage with the object of his affections. When they reached Andiján, however, they were all seized by order of Ulugh Beg, who killed Ahmad, married his sister, and sent 'Ali to prison at Samarcand. He nearly died there of dysentery, but recovered on getting some of his accustomed *cumiz*, after he had been given up by the doctors; and when Ulugh, a year later, went to see his father at Herat, he took this gigantic Mughol with him as a specimen of the sort of people he had to deal with on the frontier. On the way, however, he took alarm at the size of his weapons, his arrows measuring sixteen palms, and, fearful lest they should be turned against himself, sent him back to the capital with secret orders for his execution.

Sayyid 'Ali, however, managed to effect his escape to Táshkand, whence he found his way to Amír Khudádád, who, to get him out of the way, sent him to Wais Khan, at that time wandering amongst the Calmác of Lob and Katak, and the Sárigh Uyghúr. Wais received him well, and gave him his sister, Oron, in marriage, and 'Ali, with his bow, shot two stags for the wedding feast. From this region Wais and his new ally found their way to Turkistan. Here Wais allied with, and married, Sikanj, the sister of the Governor Shekh Núruddín, the son of Sárboghá, Capchác, and the enemy of his uncle Sher Muhammad Khan, with whom he waged war, till on his death he succeeded to the Government.

The reign of Wais Khán was characterized by a succession of unprofitable campaigns against the Budhist Calmác. He fought 61 actions against their Chief, Eshán Táyshí, and only gained a single victory. He was on one occasion captured by the Calmác Chief, who not only spared his life, but saved him from drowning whilst crossing a river in retreat.

In proof of his gratitude, Wais gave his sister, Makhtúm Khánim, in marriage to his chivalrous adversary on condition of his accepting Islám, and henceforward recognized him as an ally. This Eshán Táysi had his seat in the vicinity of Turfan, where he excavated several *kárez* or subterranean aqueducts for the irrigation of his fields. He was very fond of hunting the wild camel, and annually made an excursion to Lob and Katak in pursuit of the game for the sake of their wool, which his mother used to weave into cloth for his vestments. And he wore none other but these. T.R.

His wife, Makhtúm Khánim, bore him two sons, namely, Ibráhím Aong, and Ilyás Aong, and a daughter, Cádír Birdí, who married Mír Karím Birdi. Owing to their new creed these brothers warred with the Calmác, whose Chief, Amá Sánjí Táysi, and his three hundred thousand people, drove them and their hundred and seventy thousand people to Mugholistan, whence again, in the time of Dost Muhammad, they pressed them on to the Khitá border. Ibráhím left a son, Bábóláy, the Chief of the tribe of that name there, and they subsequently warred with Mansúr on the Khitá border.

In April-May 1420 A.D. Amír Khudádád received and entertained the embassy under Shádí Khoja, with Ghyáthuddín and five hundred followers, from Sháhrúkh to the Emperor of China. Their route from Herát was by Balkh and Samarcand to Táshkand and Syrám; and thence to Aserah, where the Amír met them and forwarded their progress by Yuldúz to Turfán, whence they went on by Cará Khoja to Atsáfi, and Kámil on the Chinese frontier. They returned two years later by the desert route to Khutan, and thence to Káshghar; and on by Andijan to Samarcand and Herat, owing to the Mughol route on the north of the Alátágh being closed by disturbance amongst the tribes. Amír Khudádád was a pious, beneficent, and popular governor, and administered the government of Mugholistan during the reigns of four Chaghtáy Kháns. Y.C.

The cities of Káshghar, Yárkand, Khutan, Acsú, Báý, and Kusan or Kúchá were held by his sons, grandsons, and nephews, and his dependents numbered twenty-four thousand families. Yet he had neither flocks nor herds, but lived frugally and simply in a single *Khargah*, and for a journey depended on the loan of his neighbour's horses. He spent his wealth in ransoming and liberating the Musalmáns enslaved by the Mughols, who habitually raided Turkistán, Táshkand and Andijan in this pursuit. In his old age seeing no prospect of restoring order in the country under the rule of Wais, he favored the schemes of Ulugh Beg, and inviting him to Chui, there made the Mughol over to him. T.R.

The tribes, however, disapproving the transfer of their liberties, dispersed to their steppes, and Khudádád, no longer able to stay amongst them, decided on making the pilgrimage to Mecca, which even in his time seems to have been, as now, the last resort of unsuccessful statesmen and rulers. For this purpose he returned with Ulugh Beg to Samarcand, and was thence forwarded by him with every mark of attention and hospitality to Herat. From this, after a short stay, he went on to Mecca, and died at Medina, where he was buried, aged ninety-seven years.

Meanwhile Ulugh sent a force under Sátoc Khán to reduce Mugholistán. He met and engaged the Mughol under their Chief near Isigh Kol; and, the nomads being put to flight, Wais endeavoured to rally them by heading a charge against the Samarcand troops, but, his horse stumbling at a ditch, he was thrown, and instantly beheaded by one of Sátoc's attendants. On this his army dispersed to their camps, and Sátoc then led his troops against Káshghar, where he was killed by Carácúl Ahmad, a grandson of Khudádád.

Ulugh then despatched an army against Káshghar to avenge his death. Carácúl was seized, and sent prisoner to the capital, where he was executed; whilst the district, as Andiján had been before, was annexed to Samarcand, and governed by officers of the Doghlát family appointed by Ulugh. But Acsú, Báý Kúsán, Turfán, Yárkand, Khutan, &c., continued in the hands of Khudádád's family.

T.R. On the death of Wais Khan, the government of Mugholistán became divided. The northern States of Zúnghár fell successively to his sons Eshán Boghá and Yúnus, whilst the southern States of Káshghar fell to Sayyid 'Ali (whose capital was at Acsú), the Minister of Wais, and to his successors, heirs of the Amír Khudádád. As the events occurring in these regions during the rule of these rival governors has not been hitherto published, so far as I am aware, I here introduce an abridged record of them as gathered from the *Turkhi Rashádt*.

Wais left two sons, Yúnus and Eshán Boghá, each of whom was supported by his own faction in claiming the succession. The nobles who favoured Yúnus, then a lad of thirteen years, carried him off to Ulugh at Samarcand to gain his recognition and support; but he, in 832 H.=1428 A.D., sent him out of the way to his father at Herat. Here Sháhrúkh placed him under the charge of Mauláná Sharifuddín 'Ali, Yazdi, the most celebrated scholar, poet, and divine of the time, to be educated. Yúnus remained under his tuition for twelve years, till the great teacher's death. And then during another twelve years, after travelling in Persia and Arabia, he settled at Shiráz.

Meanwhile Eshán Boghá ruled the Mughol tribes amidst a scene of unmitigated disorder, ushered in at the very commencement of his reign by the murder of Tymúr, Uyghúr, his Governor of Turfán. He was torn to pieces by the nobles, who then, terror struck at their own rash barbarity, fled the country. In this disorder Sayyid 'Ali, the grandson of Amír Khudádád, and *Wazir* of Wais—who, for his services in the wars with the Calmác, had been granted by the latter the country of Khutan in fief—seized Acsú from his brothers, Adil Momin and Sayyid Muhammad, both of whom he killed, and, bringing Eshán Boghá from Mugholistán, established him in it as the capital of his government, with himself as Minister.

From this Sayyid 'Ali waged a predatory warfare against Ulugh on the borders of Turkistán and Farghána, and ultimately succeeded in recovering for himself all the country under his grandfather's government, which, during the fourteen years since his departure, had become divided amongst his descendants, and partly annexed by Ulugh to Samarcand.

When Ulugh Beg, on the death of his father, came to the throne at Samarcand, in 850 H.=1446 A.D., he confirmed Amír Khudádád in his hereditary government, and the Amír appointed his son, Sayyid Ahmad, to the charge of Káshghar; but on his deposition by Khoja Sharif, as has been before mentioned, Ulugh appointed one Sultán Malik, Doghlát, to the government on the part of Samarcand. He was in turn succeeded by, first, Háji Muhammad, Sháysta, and then by Pír Muhammad, Birlás, the nominees of Ulugh. Sayyid 'Ali, the son of Sayyid Ahmad, now attempted to recover the city from the Háji with a force of only seven thousand men, but, suffering an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Bukhárá troops, fled back in disorder to Acsú. He renewed the attack in the following year during harvest time, and, laying waste the country, plundered the suburbs, and hastily retired before he could be brought to action by the Samarcand Governor. Owing to his remissness on this occasion the Sháysta was replaced by a Birlás, one Pír Muhammad, surnamed *Bangi* from his constant intoxication by the drug called *bang* (the resin of the hemp plant); and, Sayyid 'Ali again appearing under the walls during the third harvest, the citizens, to avert the famine threatened by another destruction of the crops, seized the worthless *Bangi*, and delivered him to the invader, who at once executed him, and took possession of Káshghar, to the joy of the populace who had been greatly oppressed by the foreign governors.

Sayyid 'Ali now restored order, and, during a rule of 24 years, proved a just and popular governor. The people prospered and multiplied, and cultivation and cattle increased with amazing rapidity. He left three sons and two daughters, and the share of heritage falling to the lot of one of the former, Muhammad Hydar, the grandfather of the author from whom this account is derived, included one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.

The rest of the country, however, still continued in a very disordered state. The Jarás nobles, with the Báren tribe and Konji nobles, joined the Calmác in plundering Mugholistan north of the Tianshan; the Cálójí and others joined Abúlkhyr in Uzbekistán; whilst the Cirghiz of Atbáshi and Isigh Kol harried the Farghána and Táshkand borders. During this period of disturbance, Eshán Boghá, in 855 H.=1450 A.D., being joined at Atbáshi by Mír Muhammad Sháh, the son of Khudádád, carried an incursion across the borders, and plundered the districts of Turkistán, Táshkand, and Syrám. And again, taking advantage of the absence of Abú Sáíd Mirzá, the great grandson of Tymúr and successor of Ulugh at Samarcand, in his campaign against Khurásán (on the death of Sháhrúkh), he invaded Andiján, seized the fort, and, liberating its governor, 'Ali Kochak, on ransom, plundered the country, and retired to the hills.

T.B.

From this secure retreat he repeated his incursions till Abú Sáíd, powerless to check him, recalled Yúnus from his exile, and, making a treaty of alliance with him, set him up with an army, and sent him to recover his patrimony from his younger brother. Yúnus at this time, 860 H.=1455 A.D., was forty-one years of age. He set out on his enterprise without delay, and on arrival in Mugholistan was joined by the Konjí tribe under their Chief, Pir Hájí, whose daughter, Doulat Begum, he married. She bore him three sons. At Isigh Kol he was joined by the Begjik tribe with their Chief, Mír Ibráhím, the nephew of Pir Hacc Birdí. With these adherents to his cause Yúnus marched against Káshghar.

Here the aged Sayyid 'Ali summoned to his aid Eshán Boghá, who at the time was in Yuldúz. He hastily collected sixty thousand Jattah, and arrived at Káshghar in eleven days with but six thousand of his men. Yúnus, nevertheless, was defeated and driven back to Mugholistan, where his lately made friends, deserting him, returned to their own camps and pastures; and his borrowed army, following their example, took their own ways back to their homes. Yúnus, with only a few trusty servants, wandered awhile in distress and disguise, and finally returned to Abú Sáíd in Khurásán, attended by a single slave, whom, in the absence of any other property, he presented as an offering on first admission to his patron's presence. Abú Sáíd, on learning the deplorable state of his affairs, restored the faithful slave to him, and, setting him up afresh, gave him a residence at Baníkand, called also Sháhrúkhí. Here he provided him with a fresh army, and once more sent him to renew the attempt to recover his throne.

Sayyid 'Ali died at Káshghar in 862 H.=1457 A.D., and left two sons, Sáníz Mirzá, by a Jarás wife, and Hydar Mirzá, by Oron Nishin Kháním, the aunt of Yúnus and sister of Wais Khan. According to Mughol custom, Sáníz, the eldest, succeeded to the Government; but he was a mild and timid Prince, and, resigning Káshghar and Yángí Hissár to his brother, retired to the less disturbed Yárkand, which he made his capital.

Hydar was married to Daulat Nigár Kháním, the daughter of Eshán Boghá, and his sympathies were, consequently, with him instead of with Yúnus. And on the death of his father-in-law, in 866 H.=1461 A.D., he allied with his son and successor Dost Muhámmad. Sáníz on the contrary allied with Yúnus.

The brothers did not agree, and Yúnus, after his return from Abú Sa'id set up with a fresh army, now again coming to Káshghar as rightful King, Hydar left the place and joined Dost Muhammad at Acsú. After some stay at Káshghar, during which he contracted a marriage with the daughter of the King of Badakhshán, his nomads fretting under the restraints of city life, and deserting him with increasing frequency, Yúnus was afraid of being left alone in his newly recovered capital, and, consequently, appointing Sáníz to the Government of Káshghar, he returned to Mugholistan with his restless wanderers.

Sáníz died at Káshghar, after a reign of seven years, by a fall from his horse, in 869 H.=1464 A.D., and Hydar at once took possession of the city from Acsú. Dost Muhammad at the same time made an attempt to seize Yárkand, but, the gates being

T.R. closed against him, he consented to retire on the surrender of the family of Sáníz, whose widow, Jamák Aghá, he forthwith married, and whose sons, Abábakar and 'Umar, and a daughter, Khan Sultán Khánim, he sent off to Acsú; whilst he himself turned off to plunder Káshghar during the temporary absence of Hydar at Yángi Hissar.

Dost Muhammad was seventeen years old when he succeeded his father at Acsú, and was supposed to be mad from his eccentricities, the most noted of which was his assumption of the character of a *darvesh* with the name Shams Abdál. He added the title *Abdál* to the names of all his courtiers and public officers, and insisted on their being so addressed in all official correspondence or business.

His treacherous conduct now at Káshghar estranged Hydar from his interests, and sent him over to the side of Yúnus; whilst Abábakar, to whom he had given his sister, Husn Nigár Khánim, in marriage, terrified by his violent bursts of temper, fled to his uncle at Káshghar; and Dost, to be rid of him entirely, sent his bride after him. Following this the mad youth insisted on marrying one of his late father's widows. His desire was prohibited by the clergy as unlawful, but he executed seven of them in turn, and then a eighth was found willing to perform the ceremony on the grounds that such a connexion was lawful only to such an infidel. Dost Muhammad was seized with a violent colic on the nuptial night with his step-mother, and died six days later, aged twenty-four years, in 873 H.=1468 A. D., having reigned seven years. The date of his death is told in the chronogram *ao khák murd*="that pig died."

In the disorder following, his son, Kabak Sultan Oghlán, fled to Jálísh and Turfán; and Yúnus, waiting his opportunity on the frontier, came down and seized Acsú. But his nomads again deserted him to join Kabak, and he was forced to return to Mugholistán. Here, on the Ayla river, he was attacked by Amá Sáníjí Táyshí, the Calmác Chief, and, being defeated with great slaughter of his Mughol, was compelled to retreat to Carátocí on the River Syhon. His camp here, whilst Yúnus had crossed the frozen river on a hunting excursion, was surprised by Búrúj Oghlán, son of Jání Beg son of Abúlkhyr, who with his marauding Uzbek took shelter from the inclemency of the weather in the *Khargah* tents with the Mughol women and old men. Yúnus on receiving intelligence of this hurried back, and, surrounding the enemy, attacked and slew most of them with their leader, only a few escaping back to the steppe.

Shortly after this, in the spring, Yúnus moved to Táshkand, where Shekh Jamál Khar was Governor on the part of Samarcand, which, with Hissár, Cundúz and Badakhshán, on the death of Abú Sa'id in 'Irac, had fallen to his son, Sultán Ahmad; whilst Harí and Khurásán had passed to Husen Mirzá; and Farghána with Andiján to 'Umar Shekh, the son of Abú Sa'id; to each of whom Yúnus subsequently allied himself by giving a daughter in marriage.

On his arrival now at Tashkand, in 875 H.=1470 A.D., Shekh Jamál seized Yúnus, and, imprisoning him, gave his wife to Khoja Kalan; but she and her maids set upon and killed him with bodkins and needles the first time he presumed to enter her chamber. A year later 'Abdul Cudús, the nephew of Karím Birdí, Doghlát, killed Shekh Jamál, liberated Yúnus, and presented him with his persecutor's head. His Mughols now gathered round their King, and excused their perfidy in delivering him up to Jamál as the result of his bringing them to city life, which to them was worse than prison. Yúnus admitted his error, and returned with them to Mugholistán, where he ruled many years in peace; Hydar at Káshghar being his tributary. On his return this time to Mugholistán, Kabak was killed at Turfán by his nobles, and his head brought to Yúnus as a token of friendship; but he punished the bearers, and reproved the nobles for slaying their Prince, even though a rebel. After he had killed Búrúj Oghlán at Carátocí, Yúnus sent his eldest daughter, Mihr Nigár Khánim, as wife to Sultán Ahmad, the son of Abú Sáid, to cement the friendship and maintain the alliance his father had initiated between the long estranged Mughol and Chaghtáy. And now on his establishment in the government of Mugholistán,

880 H.=1475 A.D., he gave his youngest daughter, Cutlúgh Nigár Kháním, in marriage to 'Umar Shekh (another son of Abú Sáid), his friend and ally, the Governor of Andiján. She became the mother of the celebrated Bábur Bádasháh, the Emperor of India, and founder of the Mughol dynasty there. T. R.

Yúnus and 'Umar Shekh, being friendly neighbours, often exchanged visits in their respective dominions. On one of these occasions 'Umar sought the aid of Yúnus to oust Ahmad from Samarcand; but he refused on account of his marriage relations with both. Ahmad, however, being informed of the plot prepared to attack his brother, who at once called in the aid of Yúnus, and settling him at Akhsi, thus averted the menaced hostility.

'Umar now wished Yúnus to retire, but, as he refused, they fought, and Yúnus capturing his son-in-law, made peace, and restored him to his government. He then returned to Mugholistán. On this Ahmad renewed his preparations to attack 'Umar Shekh, and he again summoned Yúnus, and settled him at Marghilán. At this juncture Khoja Nasíruddín 'Ubedullah, a divine whose sanctity drew crowds to prostrate themselves in the dust before him, intervened and made peace between the three belligerents—Ahmad, 'Umar and Yúnus, in the last of whom the arbiter, to his surprise, instead of the uncouth, wild Mughol he expected to see, found a reverential devotee, an elegant Chief, and polished scholar, the compeer of the learned Ulugh Beg. He treated him with marked favour and patronage, pronounced him a good Musalmán, and, declaring his Mughol to be within the fold of the faithful, prohibited as unlawful the custom of enslaving them as *Kafir*=infidels.

In Káshghar, meanwhile, another Prince was rising into power. The widow of Sániz, whom Dost Muhammad had taken to wife when he attacked Yárkand, became, after his death, the wife of Hydar, the brother of her first husband. She had borne Sániz two sons, Abábakar and 'Umar; and to his brother she bore two other sons, Muhammad Husen, Gúrikán (the father of the author here quoted), and Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá. This matron, Jamák Aghá, favoured her first born, Abábakar, who was a gigantic athlete, a brave soldier, and cunning hunter. These qualities made him very popular amongst the nobles, and his mother, deceiving Hydar as to the character of his ambition, secretly drew away the nobles from his Court to the side of her son, and encouraged him to recover his birthright, and take the lead in the government. Abábakar having soon collected some three thousand followers, fled to Yárkand, and, seizing the city, set up as independent ruler in succession to Sániz Mirzá.

His brother 'Umar joined him there, and they shortly set out together to annex Khutan. On the way there, however, they quarrelled, and Abábakar, depriving his insubordinate and ambitious brother of sight, sent him back to Hydar at Káshghar. From this, on its fall, he went to Samarcand, but returned again after some years, and died there in 921 H. = 1514 A.D.

Khutan at this time was in the possession of two brothers, Khán Nazr and Cul Nazr, the hereditary descendants of Khizr Sháh, a brother of Amír Khudádád, who had given the place to him in the distribution of his government amongst his family. These two brothers, in the anarchy following on the death of Sayyid 'Ali, became independent, and made repeated attempts to subdue both Yarkand and Káshghar. Consequently Hydar did not now oppose Abábakar in his attempt to reduce them. His first expedition failed, but in the second, which shortly followed it, whilst swearing to terms on the Curan, a scuffle ensued regarding the possession of the book, and in the melée both brothers were seized and killed. In the midst of the confusion Abábakar took possession of the city, and proclaimed himself King. He was for some time following this engaged in a succession of expeditions to subjugate the hill districts to the south and west of Khutan; and, having finally secured his conquests in those quarters, he next turned his arms against Hydar at Káshghar.

At this time 'Abdul Cudús (who had killed Shekh Jamál Khar, and liberated Yúnus, for which service he had been rewarded with the rank of Amír and title of

T.R. Gurikán, and granted the government of the Doghlat tribe in Andiján, but who had since rebelled and fled the country) was a refugee with Hydar, who had given him his daughter Aghá Sultán Kháním in marriage; and he now sent him against Abábakar who was plundering Yángí Hissár. The successful young soldier, however, quickly defeated him, and Cudús, with three hundred men, fled to Badakhshán. Here he joined Sultán Mahmúd, who gave him the government of Cundúz, where he was subsequently killed in a border skirmish with the Kator infidels.

After the defeat and flight of Cudus, Hydar issued with an army of thirty thousand men to oppose the advance of Abábakar, but was driven back with great loss. In this extremity he sent urgent appeals for succour to his maternal uncle, Yúnus, who, hastily collecting fifteen thousand Mughol, hurried to the aid of his tributary protegé. On his approach Abábakar called in his plundering parties and retired to his capital; and Hydar, now joined by Yúnus, followed to besiege him in Yarkand.

Abábakar, however, nothing daunted by their advance, made a vigorous sally from the city, and put them all to flight in the greatest disorder and haste. Hydar, with only two or three attendants who could keep pace with him, reached Káshghar without drawing rein in twenty-four hours, whilst the panic struck Mughol fled without ever turning to look behind them. Abábakar, proud of his success, lavished rewards on his soldiers; and Hydar, disgusted, was only too glad to get rid of the rabble who now deserted him; whilst Yúnus, full of wrath, took his way back to Mugholistán vowing condign vengeance.

He returned the following year, 885 H.=1480 A.D. with sixty thousand Mughol, and joining Hydar and his new levy of thirty thousand men at Káshghar, they marched together to Yárkand, and completely invested the city. Abábakar, in face of the odds against him, confined himself to the defence of his capital, for which he had only five thousand men, including three thousand tried veterans; and he employed them to the best advantage, and with an unlooked for success in his sallies.

Each of his horsemen was accompanied by an archer, and a sworded shield-bearer on each side. As they neared the enemy, and their horse came to the charge, the bowmen shot their arrows, whilst the shield-bearers capered and tumbled, and, rattling their shields, performed wild antics to frighten the adversary's horse; and with such success that many of their riders were thrown and at once beheaded. In this manner Abábakar's skirmishers advanced against the besiegers, and, a sudden panic seizing the Mughol, they broke and fled in utter disorder. The efforts of Yúnus failing to rally them, he was forced to follow, and retired with his discomfited host to Acsú, where he wintered with his family and army. Hydar meanwhile was pursued by Abábakar, and hastily collecting five thousand families, abandoned his capital and joined Yúnus. On this Káshghar fell into the hands of the victor, and thousands of its people, fleeing from the vengeance of his soldiery, emigrated to Andiján.

On the first occasion of Yúnus coming to Káshghar to aid Sáníz against Hydar and Dost Muhammad, he married Sháh Begum, the daughter of Sháh Sultan Muhammad, the King of Badakhshán. She bore him two sons and two daughters, namely, Mahmúd, born 868 H.=1465 A.D., and Ahmad, and Nigár Kháním and Daulat Kháním. During his stay at Acsú this winter after the defeat at Yárkand, Hydar, having lost Káshghar and anxious to secure Acsú for himself, detached the youthful Ahmad from his father on the promise of giving him the place so soon as he recovered his own government; and they both rebelled and seized one of the two forts the place contained.

On this Yúnus summoned his eldest son, Mahmúd, who, during his absence ruled in Mugholistán, to come to his aid. He arrived in seventeen days with thirty thousand Mughol, and they then besieged the rebellious Hydar. After forty days, during which Ahmad repenting of his folly had effected his escape and gained the pardon of his parent, Hydar, finding himself deserted and hard pressed for food, surrendered unconditionally. Yúnus generously pardoned his treachery, and, on his departure in the spring, took him to Mugholistán, and there attached his son, Muhammad

Husen (the father of my author), a lad aged twelve years, as companion to Mahmúd; T.R. and they grew up together mutual friends as King and Minister.

In the summer following, Yúnus purposed another attack upon Abábakar for the recovery of Káshghar, but was called to Andiján and settled at Úsh by Umar Shekh, who was again threatened by Ahmad seeking to seize Táshkand and Sháhrukhi, which, since the death of Shekh Jamál, had fallen into his hands as part of Farghána. Yúnus passed the winter at Úsh, and thus prevented war between the quarrelsome brothers; and in spring, leaving Hydar and Muhammad Husen in the government of Úsh, rejoined the Mughol under Mahmúd. On his departure, 'Umar, jealous and mistrustful of the presence of Hydar, ousted him, and he went with his son as a refugee to Abábakar at Káshghar. Here he detained Muhammad Husen a year, and then sent him to Sultan Mahmúd, son of Abú Sáid, the Governor of Badakhsán, whence he subsequently was invited to rejoin Yúnus, and give him the benefit of the medical skill for which he had obtained a reputation in the country, and nurse him during his last fatal illness.

In the autumn following this, however, Ahmad, taking advantage of the absence of Yúnus, attacked Táshkand, and 'Umar once more recalling his trusty ally settled him at Syrám for the winter. Whilst here, his second son, Ahmad, hating the restraints of city life, deserted Yúnus, and with a number of his Mughol returned to the freedom of his steppes. His flight was unnoticed owing to the danger threatened by the advance from Samarcand of the other Ahmad, to check whose progress Mahmúd was sent out with thirty thousand men. He was joined in the vicinity of the menaced city by 'Umar Shekh with fifteen thousand men from Farghána, and they both attacked the enemy. After a few unimportant skirmishes the Khoja Nasíruddín 'Ubedulla interposed to prevent further hostility between the brethren, and made peace between the three by giving the bone of contention to Yúnus, who now in 890 H.=1484 A.D. became King at Táshkand. As a bond of friendship on assuming the government, he betrothed his son, Mahmúd, to Carákúz, the "black-eyed" daughter of Ahmad; and the belligerents then retired to their respective governments the best of friends.

Yúnus fell sick shortly following this, and, after a lingering illness of two years, died aged seventy-four years. He was the most enlightened, merciful, and just of all the Mughol Kháns, and stands amongst them an unique character for learning, liberality and piety.

Mahmúd now succeeded to the throne at Táshkand; but the death of Yúnus was the signal for a fresh outbreak of hostilities, and Ahmad and 'Umar, free from the controlling influence of his superior character, at once renewed a rival contest for its possession. Mahmúd easily repulsed a force sent against him by 'Umar Shekh, but in the year following Ahmad attacked the city with an overwhelming force of a hundred and fifty thousand men, and would have taken it but for the treachery of his General, Sháhibeg Khán or Shaibán.

This successful adventurer, the founder of the Shaibán dynasty in Máwaránahar, was the son of Sháh Budágh, and grandson of Abúlkhyr. After the death of Búrúj Khán he experienced varied fortunes in Máwaránahar, and finally took service with Ahmad, and was classed amongst his nobles, over all of whom, except only Mir 'Abdul 'Alí Tarkhán, he held superior rank. His exalted position—which he maintained with a body-guard of three hundred devoted adherents of his own tribe—and the dislocated state of society at the time, favored the ambitious views of this Uzbek fortune hunter. During his service at Samarcand he had made several friends, and not a few jealous rivals as well, against the machinations of whom his trusty band of countrymen afforded him protection. The present opportunity offered him a chance he did not fail to take advantage of. During the three days siege of Táshkand, he opened communications, and plotted with Mahmúd to desert Ahmad, and join him with the force under his command.

T.R. The arrangement was that Mahmúd should make a sally seemingly against him, but really throw his force against 'Abdul Ali, whilst he himself, feigning retreat, would fall upon and plunder Ahmad's camp. The scheme was successfully carried out. Ahmad lost his camp and army, thousands in their flight being drowned in the Parag and Khyr rivers, and himself with difficulty escaped to the capital with only a few followers. Peace was now made through the intervention of the Khoja Nasíruddín, and the luxurious and haughty Ahmad, giving the betrothed Carákúz to Mahmúd in marriage, acknowledged him as an independent King.

After this Mahmúd gave his elder sister by a year, Khúb Nigár Khánim, in marriage to Muhammad Husen, Gúrikán, the companion of his youth and the faithful friend and supporter of his father, and appointed him to the Government of Oratappa. To Sháhibeg Khán at the same time, in return for his services at Táshkand, he gave the Government of Turkistán.

Muhammad Husen ruled at Oratappa for nine years, during which the following important political changes occurred in the neighbouring States. Farghána, after the death of 'Umar Shekh, was contested by his two sons, Bábur and Jahángír. Bukhárá and Samarcand were contested by Báyncar and Sultán Ali, the sons of Sultán Mahmúd the son of Abú Sa'id on the one hand, and by Sháhibeg on the other. Khurasán flourished under the glorious and powerful rule of Sultán Husen Mirzá. Whilst 'Irác, on the death of Yácúb, the son of 'Uzún Hasan, passed into the hands of Sháh Ismáíl, the founder of the new Saffaví dynasty. The Dasht Capchác, meanwhile, was ruled by Búrúndúc, the Chief of the Jújí *úls*. And Shásh=Táshkand continued the seat of Mahmúd, the son of Yúnus, who was the most noted Prince of Chaghtáy descent. He first in 889H.=1484 A.D. settled the Mughol, who are also called Cará Khitáy, in cities, and established the rule of their Khans who now roamed full masters of Shásh, which they held up to 908H.=1492 A.D.

The Mughol Khans were from father to son, Toghíluc Tymúr, who was set on the throne by Amír Bolájí, Khizr Khoja, Sher 'Alí, Wais, Yúnus, and Mahmúd. Their ministers or hereditary governors were from father to son, Amír Bolájí, who first introduced Islám amongst the Mughol, Khudádád, Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid 'Alí, Muhammad Hydar, and Muhammad Husen.

The settlement of Sháhibeg at Turkistán gave offence to his enemies, the sons of Gadáy and Jání Beg, who, at the instigation of the aggrieved Ahmad, collected the Cazzác and Uzbek, and waged war with Mahmúd. He was twice defeated by them, and then, his supporter deserting him, his Court became the refuge of all sorts of adventurers and outlaws.

'Umar Shekh at this time 899H.=1493A.D. was crushed to death by the fall of his house, and Ahmad at once set out from Samarcand to secure Andiján from annexation by the Mughol. The nobles, however, set Bábur, the son of the deceased Chief, aged twelve years, on the throne, and called in the aid of Mahmúd for his support. Ahmad, in the interim, had advanced to Marghilán, and, falling sick there, concluded peace, and hurried back, but died on his way to the capital. On this Sultán Mahmúd from Hissár seized Samarcand. He died there after a rule of only six months, and then Báyncar Mirzá succeeded. Mahmúd Khán, with the hope of restoring his declining authority, now hastened to contest its possession with him; but, his rabble being routed at Míánkál, he returned to Táshkand, and to stave off attack from himself, incited Sháhibeg to invade the country. This the ambitious Uzbek immediately did, and ended by conquering Samarcand and Bukhárá, an enterprise in which he was aided by Bábur.

Sháhibeg Khán now turned his arms against Mahmúd at Táshkand, and he, long since reduced to a mere semblance of independence, hastily called to his aid his younger brother, Ahmad, who was ruling the nomads in Mugholistán. He arrived in time to oppose the Uzbek attack, but their conjoined forces were defeated, and both brothers were captured with most of their men. Sháhibeg liberally set free

Mahmúd and Ahmad, but retained nearly all their troops in his own service. The brothers, with the wreck of their army and a few adherents who still clung to them, retired to Acsú, where Ahmad died in the ensuing winter 909H.=1503 A.D. T.R.

Mahmúd after this, not being able to live in peace with his son and successor, Mansúr, retired to Mugholistán, and after five years of very varied troubles amongst the nomads there, returned to Táshkand to seek a government from Sháhíbeg. But the rising conqueror, anticipating trouble from this rightful heir to the Government, killed him and all his family on the bank of the Khujánd river in 914H.=1508-9 A.D.; and the date is commemorated in the chronogram *lábí daryáe Khujánd*=“bank of the Khujánd river.”

Ahmad, after he had quitted his father at Syrám, as before mentioned, returned to Mugholistán, and spent ten years in reducing the tribes to subjection; and he and his sons ruled there independently from 900 to 948H.=1494 to 1541A.D. During the first two years he destroyed the Arlát family, exterminated the Jarás and other nobles, and drove out the Cálóji tribe into the Calmác territory. His terrible slaughters gained him the name of *Alaja*, or “the slayer,” by which he is known in history. His successes against the Cazzac and Uzbek and Calmác secured order throughout the wide extent of Mugholistán, and protected the country over a length of seven or eight months’ journey from external invaders.

In 905H.=1499A.D., having thus settled Mugholistán, Alaja set out against Abábakar at Káshghar. On his approach Abábakar, provisioning both Káshghar and Yangi Hissár, retired to Yarkand, and there shut himself up in its fort. Alaja, after some resistance, took Yangi Hissár, and on its fall, Káshghar surrendering, he wintered there. Early next spring he marched against Yárkand, but failing to take the place, plundered the suburbs, and pursued the fugitive peasantry into the hills on the west.

On this Abábakar issued from Yárkand, and occupying the pass conducting out of the hills, there lay in wait for the enemy. He surprised and defeated Ahmad, recovered the booty taken by his troops, and drove him on from Káshghar to Mugholistán. It was a year after his return from this campaign that Ahmad, leaving his eldest son, Mansúr, to govern the Mughol, took his younger sons, Sa’íd and Bábájác, with him to the aid of his brother against Sháhíbeg, as has been mentioned.

Ahmad, or Alaja Khan, left seventeen sons of whom Mansúr, the eldest, succeeded to the government. Iskandar died soon after his father, and finally Sa’íd returned from his exile, and divided the country with Mansúr. On the death of the father, however, all the sons quarrelled over the division of his territory, and Abábakar, seizing the opportunity of their discord, attacked and took Acsú, from which Mansúr had retired to Kúsán; whence, now on the fall of his capital, he fled to Mugholistán. Abábakar plundered Acsú, and, destroying its fortifications and houses, transported the population to Úsh Turfán, whither also he transferred the Government; and, leaving a garrison in support, returned by way of Káshghar to his capital laden with the treasures amassed by Ahmad during a reign of twenty-five years.

Mansúr, meanwhile, fought his brothers Khalil and Sa’íd for the government of the Mughol, whilst their uncle, Mahmúd, unable to check the disorder or bring the brothers to reason, left the country for Tashkand, where, with all his family and followers, he was killed, as before related. Mansúr ultimately succeeded in recovering Kúsán and Acsú from his brothers Ayman and Bábájác, who, on the decline of Abábakar’s rule, had taken possession of, restored, and re-peopled those ancient seats. And in 912 H.=1506 A.D., at Acsú, he met and made peace with Sa’íd, who, having seized Káshghar from Abábakar, now shared the country with him, and acknowledged his rights as elder brother, and “coined and prayed” in his name. They reigned in peace for twenty years, during which the country flourished, and order was so securely established that travellers journeyed singly from Khámil on the Khita border to Andiján through the length of the land without fear or care for provisions, finding hotels at every stage on the road.

T.R. Mansúr during this period waged a succession of *ghazát* or religious wars against the Calmác and Khitáy. In one of these, the Khoja Tajúddín of Kúsán or Kúchá was killed. He was a descendant of the Mauláná Arshaduddín, who converted Toghlúc Tymúr; and was the pupil of Mauláná 'Ali Ghazzán of Tús = Mashhad. Tajúddín studied for some time under Khoja Nasírúddin 'Ubedulla, and was for fifty years in the service of Ahmad and Mansúr. He traded and farmed largely, and, acquiring much wealth and influence, took a prominent part in the government of the country.

After his campaigns on the Khitá border, Mansúr warred with the Cazzác and Uzbek at Aris in Mugholistán, where his best General, Súfi Mirzá Begjik, was killed. After this he retired to Jalish and Turfán, and seldom again took the field. On the death of Sa'id he made an attempt to recover Acsú, but was driven back, and died in 950 H. = 1542 A.D., aged sixty years, having reigned forty-three. He left two sons, Sháh Khán and Muhammad Sultan, and a daughter, whom Sa'id took for his son Rashíd. During his later years Mansúr resigned his government to his eldest son, and retired to private life for devotion to religious exercises. He is described as a pious Musalmán, and a good Governor, simple in ceremony, and attentive to the wants of his people. Yet as illustrative of the sentiments of morality in his time, it is related of him that he kept as private chaplain a *Cari* or "chaunter of the Curán." He was a man with a perfect intonation, clear voice, and unflinching memory, but he was slovenly in dress, filthy in habits, and beastly in practices—qualities that gained him the opprobrious nickname of *Mangasik*. The courtiers were scandalized by his shameless depravities, and urged his dismissal on the grounds of his having been taken in an unnatural crime with a cow, but the pious King rejected their petition with the rebuke that he kept the man to teach him to read the Curán, not to rape cattle.

Mansúr's brother Sa'id, who took Káshghar from Abábakar, has the following history:—When fourteen years old, he and his brother, Bábájác, accompanied their father to the aid of his brother Mahmúd when he was attacked at Táshkand by Sháhibeg. In the fight at Akhsi, this Sa'id was wounded in the hip by an arrow, and fell into the hands of Shekh Báyzid, the Governor of the place, who imprisoned him. In the year following, Sháhibeg invaded Farghána, killed Báyzid and his brother, Ahmad Tanbal, and all their family, and annexed the country. He liberated Sa'id and took him to Samarcand, and thence with his army in the campaign against Khusro Sháh, who had seized Hissár Cundúz and Badakhshán. On their return to Samarcand, and the departure of Sháhibeg on his expedition against Khiva, Sa'id escaped to Uzkand, and thence joined his uncle, Mahmúd, at Yatakand in Mugholistán. In the factions then dividing the tribes there, Sa'id joined his brother, Khalíl, who ruled the Cirghiz. During four years they warred against their elder brother, Mansúr, and their uncle, Mahmúd, till, finally, the latter withdrew and returned to Táshkand where he was killed, as related.

On the departure of Mahmúd, Mansúr again took the field against Sa'id and Khalíl, and marching from Jalish and Turfán, met and fought them at Járún Jalák. Each army put forward a champion for single combat. Sa'id's man, one Shekh 'Ali, was unhorsed in the first encounter by Cutlugh, the champion of Mansúr. On this the Cirghiz rushed forward to rescue their fallen champion, and the Mughol, too, advancing to support their hero, both sides joined in battle. Khalíl and Sa'id, unable to make head or stand against their superior numbers, both fled the field, and Mansúr, securing the Cirghiz, carried them away bodily and settled them at Jalish.

The fugitives went to join Mahmúd, but, on arrival at Akhsi, learned of his execution, and were themselves made prisoners. Khalíl was killed, and Sa'id was taken before Jánibeg, the uncle of Sháhibeg, who, having recently fallen from his horse and injured his head and reason, gave him his liberty. He at once set out to join Bábur at Kabul by way of Badakhshán, where he rested awhile with Mirzá Khán in the Zafar fort. At this time the strong highlands on the east of Badakh-

shán belonged to Káshghar, to which they had been annexed by Abábakar; whilst the cultivated vallies to the west were held by the Uzbek. Between the two, a few narrow glens were all that remained to a heretic king, called Sháh Rázíúddín, *Chirághkush*, whom the Badakhshí had set on the throne. Amongst them in his little fort of Zafar, Mirzá Khán, the only Musalmán in the country, led a hard and solitary life, pinched for the bare necessaries of existence.

Sa'id remained three years at Kabul, till Sháhíbeg or Shaibán was killed at the battle of Marv by Sháh Isma'il, the new King of Persia, and then accompanied Bábur to Cundúz. Meanwhile, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, son of Muhammad Hydar (my author's uncle), had expelled Jánibeg and secured Andiján. And he now sought the support of Bábur, who sent Sa'id and other Mughol nobles to occupy the province; and Sayyid Muhammad, on being relieved of the government, was appointed *úúsbeqi* of the Mughol.

Following this, Abábakar, thinking to profit by the dislocated state of affairs across the border, invaded Andiján with twenty thousand men from Káshghar, but was defeated at Tútlúgh, two *farsakh* from the city, by Sa'id with only fifteen hundred men. In this interim, Bábur, having defeated the Uzbek at Hissár and driven them out of Máwaránahar, mounted the throne at Samarcand in 917 H.=1509-10A.D. In the spring, however, the Uzbek returned from Táshkand under 'Ubedulla Khán, who seized Bukhárá.

Bábur went out to oppose him, but was defeated at Ghajdawán, and retiring to the capital, fled thence with his family to Hissár; and the Uzbek once more gained the ascendancy. Sa'id, too, at the same time, advanced to check the enemy at Táshkand, but he also was defeated, and driven back to Andiján by Súyúnj, who overran the border districts.

On the return of Bábur, with the Persian army sent to his aid by Sháh Isma'il, Sa'id, in the spring of 918H.=1511A.D., went to seek the aid of Cásim, the Capchác King. But he returned unsuccessful, and when, two years later, the Uzbek with a numberless host invaded Farghána, he quitted the country in *Rabi' Awwal*, the spring of 920 H.=1513A.D., and retired to Yatakand on the borders of Mugholistán. From this he presently invaded Káshghar where Abábakar, now aged sixty years, was as weak in authority as he was unpopular in rule.

On the approach of the invader, Abábakar, transporting the entire population to Yárkand, destroyed the ancient fort and city of Káshghar, which from remote times had been the capital of the country, and the residence of the kings of the Afrásyáb dynasty.

Regarding this ancient city, Mirzá Hydar gives the following account in the *Tarikhi Rashidi*:—Afrásyáb was a Turk, and is the Bocá Khán of the Mughol. He was the son of Pash, the son of Kharshín, the son of Túr, the son of Farídún. In later times Káshghar was the capital of Sátoc Bughra Khán, who introduced Islám. After him it was the capital of Gorkhán, the Cará Khitáy King, who ruled over all Máwaránahar; and of his successor Koshlúk, the Chief of the Náymán tribe of Christians, who was killed by the troops of Changíz in Sárigh Chopán, whither he had fled for refuge amongst the Badakhshí.

In the division of his empire, Changíz gave the countries of Mugholistán, Cará Khitáy, Turkistán, and Máwaránahar to his son Chaghtay. And similarly, in the distribution of his nobles, he gave to him the Doghlát tribe. Chaghtay settled them in the Mangláy Súba from Shásh on the west to Jálísh on the east, and from Isigh Kol on the north to Sarigh Uyghúr on the south. The first Doghlát who resided in the Sárigh Uyghúr region was Amír Báyzíd, and the government has descended from father to son to Abábakar.

Káshghar formerly produced many things that are not now known in the country, especially the furs called *cácúm*=otter, and *sinjáb*=ermine. Its limits are, on the west, Shásh and the high mountains of Bolor, which form a chain from south to north, where they join the range of Mugholistán; on the east, the country beyond Turfán

T. R.

T.R. to the borders of the Calmác country, "of which nobody knows anything but the Calmác." Its limit on the north is Artosh, and on the south Khutan. It is a month's journey from north to south, but, if one ride hard from west to east, he passes beyond cultivation and habitation in a single day.

The rivers are all between Káshghar and Khutan, and this is the only fertile part of the country: all the rest is a desert of sand, with thick jangal, and vast saline wastes, and nothing else. Many large cities have flourished on it in ancient times, but of them only Lob and Katak are now known by name. Signs of others are found, and again lost in the shifting sands, by hunters of the tiger, wild camel, and wild ox. The country produces lots of fruits and flowers, but there is no money. All trade is by barter. The soil is poor and unproductive, and requires much toil; consequently it is impossible to support an army in the country. In spring high winds obscure the air with dust, much worse than in India. Káshghar in comparison with Dashti Capchác and Calmác is as a populous city, with all sorts of availables; but in comparison with Samarcand it is as a bare desert. As the proverb says, "Ask those from Hell of Purgatory, and they call it Paradise." It is, however, a safe retreat from plunderers and marauders, and well suited as a place of seclusion and spiritual meditation, and has long been noted for its saints, monks, and recluses.

Abábakar now destroyed the ancient capital of this country. He demolished its fort, and levelled its suburbs, and with ten thousand men in seven days built the new fort of Káshghar on the high bank of the Túman river, a little higher up its course. Its area is 150 *jarib*=50 acres; its walls were twenty yards high, and at top wide enough for four horsemen abreast; the tower and bastions rose ten yards higher, and were all wonderfully strong.

He stored this new fort with provisions, and, leaving a garrison under his General, Yúsufyán, retired to Yángi Hissár. This, too, he put in a state for defence, and then returning to his capital fortified its defences with all haste; and having finished these preparations, he again set out to oppose the invaders, who were pressing on from Atbáshi.

Sa'id left his baggage with the families at Túman-báshi, the head waters of the Túman river—the limit between Mugholistán and Káshghar—to follow afterwards, and himself pushing on with the fighting men on the third day reached Artosh. On the next day he seized the defences abandoned by Abábakar on Uch Burhán ridge, and came in sight of the newly built fort, three *farsakh* off to the southward.

Here he mustered his army, four thousand seven hundred men, all experienced soldiers who had seen twelve years' service in Máwaránahar. Amongst them were Doghlát, Carácúlác, Dokhtoy, Birlás, Yarázin, Ordatagi, Atárchi, Konji, Jarás, Babarín, Begjik, Cálójí, Cárlic, Makrit, Shoncár, and other nobles, each with his following of one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. From this Sa'id crossed the Túman at the Sarman ford, two *farsakh* from the fort, and meeting the army sent by Abábakar, who himself remained at Sogholúc in support of the garrison, defeated and pursued it up to the walls, under which he camped for the night. During the darkness the garrison abandoned the fort, and fled to Yárkand, and Sa'id, pushing on, laid siege to Yangi Hissár, the key to the capture of both Káshghar and Yárkand. The citadel was held by former Generals of Abábakar, who had been taken out of prison to conduct its defence.

The chief of these was Mir Walí who, in the early career of his master, had subjugated for him the country of Bolor to the borders of Cáyrtagin or Carátakin, Badakhshán, Tibet, and Kashmir; who, later, had taken Acsú and Kúsán, and, clearing them of Cirghiz and Mughol, had subdued Mugholistán; and who, finally, invaded Farghána, and ravaged Jagrák, Ush, and Uzkand. In Abábakar's second invasion of Andiján and defeat at Tútlugh, he suspected his own people of treachery, and executed several hundred of them summarily. He reduced his General, Mir Wali, with ignominy, rooted out his beard, emasculated him and all the males of his family, subjected the females to dishonour, and cast all into prison to labour on the roads.

This Mír Walí now, through fear of his master's vengeance, held out for two months at Yángí Hissár, and then, hearing of Abábakar's flight from the capital, surrendered his trust to Sa'id who, placing his own governor with a garrison in the fort, at once hurried on to Yárkand.

Here Abábakar, during the siege of Yangi Hissár, had been busy emptying his armoury of its accumulated stores, and clearing the prisons of the crowded victims of his wrath. He now distributed sixty thousand suits of armour, including twelve thousand horse trappings, amongst the population who were enrolled *en masse* for the defence of the capital. A timid peasantry, gardeners, handicraftsmen of all trades, and other peaceable citizens, who had never handled a spear, nor shot an arrow, far less wielded a sword, and who, during a generation of unexampled tyranny, had grown up cowed by despotic condemnations to dungeons, prisoner gangs, tortures, mutilations and executions, now had arms, of which they knew not the use, thrust into their unwilling hands, and were driven out to fight.

With such a pressed rabble multitude Abábakar essayed from his capital to raise the siege of Yángí Hissár. At the first stage out his disorderly mob, coming in sight of an outpost picket of Sa'id's army, at once took fright, cast away the arms forced upon them, and dispersed in all directions. Abábakar was now past further explosions of wrath and torture. He returned to his palace, set his son, Jahángír, in the charge of the city, and, packing up his treasures, retired with them to Khutan. Six days later, Jahángír, on the fall of Yangi Hissár, collecting his valuables, gave the city up to plunder, and in the confusion and strife that ensued effected his escape to Sánjú.

Sa'id, on receiving intelligence of these events at Yárkand, immediately sent forward Khoja 'Ali Bahádúr to secure the place; and he took possession of the city at the end of Rajab 920H.=1513A.D. Sa'id followed with the rest of his army largely increased by new accessions, and mounting the throne gave the place up to plunder for two months; during which his troops ransacked every corner, despoiled the citizens and their previous plunder, and secured an immense booty in rich merchandize of all sorts, together with the abandoned treasures amassed by Abábakar during a reign of forty-eight years.

Immediately on arrival at the capital, Sa'id sent out parties in pursuit of the fugitives. Abábakar fled before them from Khutan to Caránghotágh. Here at Actásh he burnt, and cast into the river what he could not carry away into the mountains, and killing the spare horses and camels fled towards Tibet. On the road his followers, scenting death ahead, plundered and deserted him.

The fugitive, after wandering hungry and demented some time over the bleak, desolate, and inhospitable tablelands of the Tibet plateau, on the approach of winter, turned in search of shelter from the biting frosts of that elevated region into the sheltered valleys towards Khutan. He was intercepted, seized, and killed by a party of his many pursuers in the Carácásh valley, where a mean tomb on the river bank, two stages from Shahídulla Khoja, now marks the site of his grave.

His pursuers, after taking possession of Khutan and its treasury, sent out numerous parties on his track, and the roads leading to the mountains. One of these, at Sarpúl, found his abandoned cattle and treasures, and fishing out the sparkling gems from the clear stream, returned with a rich store of pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds, with rare silks and other costly treasures.

Jahángír—he was married to Khadija Sultán Kháním, full sister of Sa'id and fourth daughter of Alaja Khan who fell into the hands of Abábakar when he took Acsú—was similarly pursued, and finally taken at Sánjú. He was sent prisoner to Yángí Hissár, and ultimately executed there by order of Sa'id. Abábakar had many children, of whom he killed several for trivial offences. Jahángír was his eldest son, by Khánzada Begum, the sister of Mahmud.

During his long reign of forty-eight years, Abábakar subdued Tibet to the borders of Kashmir. In 905 H.=1499 A.D. he defeated Alaja Khan, and drove him from the country. He subjugated Bolor, and annexed most of the *hazáraját*=

T.R. "thousands" of Badakhshán as far as Tang; and for twelve years this region, as far as Sárigh Chopán, formed part of the Káshghar *diván*=demesne, till Sa'id, on conquering the country, gave this district to his General Mír Beg. He, however, was opposed by Mirzá Khán of Wakhán, one of the *hazarachí* of the Badakhshán *hazáraját*, the limit of which is called Durwazi Wakhán by the Badakhshi, and Sárigh Chopán by the Káshghari. In the time of Sháhíbeg, Abábakar invaded Andiján and annexed Ush, and Mád and Uzkand. He subdued all Mugholistán, dispersed the Mughol, and drove the Cirghiz to join Mansúr at Jálísh and Turfán. And finally, on the death of Alaja, he annexed Acsú and Uch Turfán.

He excavated all the ruins and mounds about Káshghar, Yárkand and Khutan in search of buried treasure. This work was carried on summer and winter by the labour of convict gangs of men and women in separate chains; they were so punished for the most trivial offences with the worst criminals. Each gang consisted of from ten to twenty prisoners secured together by a chain running from one to the other through a collar fastened round the neck of each. They were ruled by merciless overseers who for a slight default in discipline were themselves consigned to the gang, and were fed on the scantiest fare.

By their toil Abábakar accumulated vast treasures from these ruined cities; for nothing escaped him, even the dust being sifted for gems. In a vault in some ruins near Khutan—which is described as a most ancient city, and remarkable for the absence of the *'aka*=magpie, which is common elsewhere in the country; and if perchance one should appear it is counted an ill omen, and the people turn out and drive it away—were found twenty-seven *khúm*=jar, each capable of holding a fully armed bowman, without his body touching its sides. Each *khúm* contained a copper *aftába*=ewer, with an iron spout that projected to the level of its brim. Each *aftába* was one and a half *gaz*=yard high, and when filled with water was as much as two men could lift. As found each was full of gold dust, and the space between it and the containing *khúm* was packed with silver *bálísh*, each the size of an ancient brick and depressed in the centre. Each *bálísh* weighed five hundred *mithcál*. (The *mithcál* of the present day weighs sixty grains). In each jar was found a paper with a Turkí inscription—"For the wedding of the son of Khumár Khátón," but who or what she was nobody knows. All this wealth was deposited in Abábakar's treasury, and now fell into the possession of Sa'id.

Abábakar was frightfully cruel in his punishments. He used to slay and mutilate whole families for the offence of a single member, even if accused ten years after its commission. When his troops captured Sháh Begum, and Mihr Nigár Kháním, and Muhammad Sháh (the brother of my author), and other members of the family of his own father and mother, as they came from Kabul to Badakhshán, he brought them to Káshghar and treated them shamefully. He kept Muhammad Sháh amongst his eunuchs till fifteen years old, and then staked him to a wall of his chamber by an iron rod through the belly, and thus left him to die and rot. His own sister, Khan Sultáním, he shut up in a room and fed on nothing but raw spirits, and when tortured by thirst and hunger her ravings were quieted by a fresh dose poured down by force, till at last she died. Such are only two instances that bear mention of his treatment towards his own nephews and nieces, and sons and daughters. The whole country trembled at his foul and indescribable cruelties. When he invaded Andiján, he massacred three thousand people of Jagrák, Mád, and Uzkand on the pretence that they had plotted against his life. He cut off the feet of thousands of his own subjects, simply lest, malcontent, they should go to other countries and conspire against him.

Despite his unheard-of barbarities and merciless cruelties, Abábakar affected a pious devotion to the Faith, and pretended a rigid observance of the *Sharía*. He was always attended by priests and expounders of the law, to whom he used to appeal for confirmation of his judgments; but if they dared disapprove he straightway pronounced them worthy of death, and in his clemency and respect for their profession spared their lives, but imposed tasks worse than death itself.

He made Yárkand the capital of his kingdom, and greatly improved the city. He built its fortifications which enclosed two hundred *man* of land (that is land capable of being sown by that quantity of corn, which at fifteen pounds the *man* equals three thousand pounds), and had six gates, each protected by two bastions, and connecting walls one hundred yards in advance, a novel arrangement, by which the approach was defended by archers on each side. Inside the city he laid out twelve parks, with handsome mansions, and a hundred houses in each. He brought canals into the city, and planted twelve thousand gardens in its suburbs. All these now fell into the hands of Sa'id, and were ravaged and plundered by his soldiery.

After settling Yárkand, Sa'id returned to Káshghar, and there, in the winter of 921 H.=1514-15 A.D., received a visit from Mansúr who had come from his government of Jálísh and Turfán. In the first month of the following year Sa'id went by Ush Turfán, where his brother, Ayman Khoja, was Governor, to Acsú which since its devastation by Abábákar on the death of Ahmad had remained in ruins, and at Báý met Mansúr for the return of his visit. He now acknowledged him as his elder brother and independent ruler of Jálísh and Turfán, and giving Acsú to him returned to Yárkand for the winter.

In the following spring Sa'id moved to Káshghar, and there collected his forces to invade Andiján and expel Súyúnjúk. He was joined by Ayman and Bábájac with their small contingents, and on arrival at Chádir Kol mustered his troops. His brothers warned him that the army was unequal to the task undertaken, and proposed that they should change the plan of the expedition, and limit it to a raid in the hills. Consequently they spent a few weeks in the chase of wild horse and sheep, and the plunder of nomad camps, and then returned to the capital.

After this Sa'id set out on an expedition against the Sárigh Uyghúr twelve days' journey from Khutan, but on arrival at the latter place he was so prostrated from the effects of a hard bout of debauchery that he was obliged to forego the meritorious duty of converting them. He sent a force, however, to explore their country, and it returned after an absence of two months without having found any traces of the pagan enemy; whilst himself in the interim was borne back to the capital in a stupid state of drunkenness.

He was roused from this ignoble course by the plain admonition of the Uzbek master of Máwaránahar, and his warning against the unchecked hostilities of the border tribes; and Sa'id, alarmed lest the vengeance of Sháhíbeg should fall upon himself, at once set out on an expedition to Isígh Kol to check the inroads of his Cirghiz there upon the lands of Turkistán, Syrám, and Andiján. He dispersed their camps, and capturing their Chief, Muhammad Báý, carried him off prisoner to Yárkand in 923 H.=1516 A.D., and thus restored quiet on the border.

During the reign of Sháhíbeg Khan, Badakhshán was divided between Khusro Sháh on the west and Abábakar on the east. Sa'id on taking Káshghar had given his share of the country up to Sárigh Chopan in fief to Mír Beg, one of his nobles; but Mirzá Khán, the Governor of Zafar fort, expelled him. Consequently Sa'id marched against him, and settling the difficulty peaceably returned to Yárkand. From this in the summer following he went to Acsú, which had recently (923 H.) been recovered from Mansúr by Ayman Khoja, who restored and resettled the place for himself. He now removed Ayman to Káshghar, whence he went to Bábur in India where he died in 938 H.=1531 A.D., and installed Mansúr in the Government; and he reigned there in peace for two years till 928 H.=1521 A.D.

In this year (926 H.) Mirzá Khan died, and his infant son, Sulemán, was put on his throne in Badakhshán. Sa'id meant to have gone against him, but a revolt of the Cirghiz pagans in Mugholistán prevented him. He sent his son, Rashíd, with the liberated Muhammad Báý to quell them, and himself followed to their support in the following year. He wintered at Cochcár, and being there seized with a fit of piety and remorse for his many sins returned to Káshghar, and wished to abdicate in favour of his brother Aymán. His priestly adviser, Tájuddín, aided by the persuasive

T.R. eloquence of Khoja Muhammad Yúsuf just arrived from Táshkand, however, dissuaded him from the purpose. Instead thereof he made him confess and repent his sins, and promise to expiate them by serving God and the Prophet by the prosecution of a yearly *ghazát* against the pagans and infidels on his borders.

In the spring of 931 H. = 1524 A.D., Sa'id again went to the support of Rashíd at Isígh Kol, where he had his camp to control the Cirghiz. Whilst there he received intelligence of the death of Súyúnjuk and disorder amongst the Uzbek. Consequently he at once invaded Andiján, seized Uzkand, the strongest fort in the country, and razed it to the ground, captured Ush and the capital, and annexing them to Káshghar, returned to Mugholistán. Here he established Rashíd in the government against Táhir Khan and Abúl Cásim, the Uzbek leaders whose cause had failed in Máwaránahar, and returned to his own capital. On the rise of the Manghít, however, in succession to them, and their invasion of Mugholistán, Rashíd, unable to hold his own against them, returned to Káshghar.

In the winter following this, Sa'id sent Rashíd and Mirzá Hydar (the author of *Táríkhí Rashídí*) on a *ghazát* against the *káfir* of Bolor. This country is bounded east by Káshghar and Yárkand; north by Badakhshán; west by Kábul; and south by Kashmír. It is altogether a mountain fastness, and has not a level *farsakh* of ground in a circuit of four months' journey. Its people have no religion, and their women do all the labour, field and domestic. The men do nothing but fight each other all day and every day, and only cease when their women interpose with food. They then enter their houses, and on the conclusion of the meal return to fight; and so it goes on from sunrise to sunset; and at night they always barricade their doors and keep watch.

These people have few oxen, but lots of goats and sheep from whose wool they make all their clothing. There is little pasture in the country; and every glen has its own peculiar language which is unintelligible to the neighbours. Honey and fruits are in plenty. The pomegranates are especially good, and have sweet white grains like those of no other country. Rashíd returned from this expedition, in which he does not appear to have effected much against the *káfir*, by way of Sárigh Chopán in the summer of 934 H. = 1527 A.D.

On the death of Mirzá Khán, his infant son, Sulemán, succeeded to the throne of Badakhshán. Bábur had him brought to Kabul, and sent his own son, Humáyún, to hold the country. He governed it from 926 to 935 H. = 1519 to 1528 A.D., when he was summoned to India. The Badakhshí now feared the Uzbek, and sought protection of Sa'id. He left Rashíd in the government of Káshghar, and set out for Badakhshán in 936 H. = 1529 A.D. On arrival at Zafar, however, he found the fort already occupied by Hindál, the brother of Humáyún. It being mid-winter, and retreat impossible, Sa'id negotiated a stay of three months with Hindál on the grounds that he had come to protect the place against Uzbek invasion, and with no thought of wresting it from Kábul. After a very hard time of it in deep snows, with a scarcity of provisions, Sa'id was glad to turn back to his capital with the first approach of spring. Bábur on this recalled Hindál, and re-established Sulemán at Zafar.

Following this in the winter of 937 H. = 1530 A.D., Sa'id resumed Acsú from Mansúr, and appointed Rashíd to its government with Mirzá Hydar as his minister. Six months later he recalled the latter, and in *Zí Hújj*, the spring of 938 H. = 1532 A.D., set out with him and an army of five thousand men on a *ghazát* against Tibat.

The rivers of Tibat on the north-east all flow to the Kok Nor Kol in the sandy desert. It is three months' journey in circuit; and from the lake flows the great Cará Morán river of Khitá.

The Dolpá tribe of Tibat trade between Khitá and Hind, and carry their merchandize exclusively on sheep. They spend one winter in Khitá and the other in Hind. Three hundred families of them live in under-ground burrows at Altúnchi,

where they dig and sift gold during only forty days of the year owing to the excessive cold. Other gold mines of Tibet are in Champa. T.R.

Mirzá Hydar and Iskandar, the son of Sa'id, with four thousand men led the advance, and proceeding by the direct route arrived at Nubra in *Safar* 938 H. = 1532 A.D. From this they sent off parties in all directions to convert to Islám, or to slay the recusants. They took the fort of Maryol, which was held by two Chiefs called Lacca Choghdán and Basánkol.

The cold here was intense. From this Iskandar was hastily recalled owing to the alarming illness of his father from *dam* = "breath" on the Dolpá road from Khutan. On arrival at Nubra, however, Sa'id recovered, and with a thousand men turned off to winter at Báltí. Iskandar, meanwhile, rejoining Mirzá Hydar, pushed on by the Zojí Pass, where he quickly routed its four hundred defenders, to winter in Kashmir.

Bahrám Toc, the Ruler of Báltí, submitted to Sa'id who at once took possession of the town, located his troops in its houses, killed the men, seized the women, and till spring waged a destructive guerilla all over the country to Maryol. During the same time Iskandar subjugated Káshmir, and married the daughter of Muhammad Sháh its King.

In the spring both parties met in Maryol. From here Sa'id sent Iskandar and Mirzá Hydar, with two thousand men, to destroy the idol city of Aorsáng (or as it is colloquially pronounced Aocháng or Ucháng), which was the *cabla'* or Jerusalem of the Khitáy, and himself set out on his return to Yárkand by the Sácri Pass into Nubra. On rising from this to the highland of the Cará Coram Pass, Sa'id was again taken ill with *dam*, and, though hurried along to get across the difficult parts as quickly as possible, died at a stage only four days short of the place where the *dam* is no longer felt. The spot, I may here note, is marked by the name Daulat Beg Uldi = "The Lord of the State died." It is the stage directly to the south of the Cará Coram Pass, and is 16,400 feet above the sea. Sa'id died at the end of 939 H., aged forty-six years, having reigned twenty. On the arrival of the corpse, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, who had repaired to the capital from his government at Káshghar on first intimation of the King's death, performed the funeral rites, and, with a strong party of nobles in support, assumed the government pending the return of Iskandar.

But Rashíd at the same time coming from Acsú, seized Sayyid Muhammad on the first day of the new year 940 H., and slew him over his father's grave where the unsuspecting minister had come to express the usual condolence. He then mounted the throne himself, and, sending off his agents to Káshghar, executed all the family of his victim, and confiscated his property.

Iskandar and Mirzá Hydar, meanwhile, had penetrated twenty marches towards Aorsáng, and on the 1st *Safar*, having defeated the Champa Tíbatans at Báryáng, captured great booty in cattle and sheep. They ravaged the country around for several months, and on the 1st *Muharram* 940 H., the day on which Rashíd killed Sayyid Muhammad, were attacked in a narrow defile by Kárdom and the Hindú army and defeated with considerable loss; Hydar's brother, 'Abdulla, being amongst the slain.

From Maryol this expeditionary force marched altogether two months towards Aorsáng. In one month they came to the forts of Nok and Labok on the shore of a lake forty *farsakh* in circuit. Here they lost nearly all their horses from the fatal effects of *dam*, and the army had to proceed on foot with great difficulty and loss to Támluc, whence is fourteen days' journey to Bangála. At Támluc horses enough to mount ninety men were seized, and the army then advanced four days' march to Askarof, whence is a journey of twenty days to Aorsáng. From this they were forced to retire owing to the exhaustion and inefficiency of the troops. From Támluc to Maryol is twenty stages. In two stages they came to Koko, and there levied a contribution of three thousand *milhcál* of gold from the people.

T.B. Whilst here messengers arrived from Rashíd summoning Iskandar to Yárkand, and informing Hydar of the execution of his uncle and all his family, and prohibiting his return to the country. They consequently marched at once to Maryol, and arrived at its capital, Calá Shiya, in twenty-five days, and taking possession of the fort, halted for stragglers to rejoin. The season was mid-winter, and the loss in men and cattle from the intense cold was severe. In the early spring Iskandar with seven hundred men set out on a foraging expedition to replenish the exhausted supplies of the army. He plundered all the country of Rang Shigar, and after an absence of two months returned to Maryol.

By this time the messengers sent by Hydar with presents and congratulations to Rashíd, and an appeal to revise his decision of banishment for the sake of their early friendship and service together, now came back with peremptory orders for the return of Iskandar with the troops, but a strict prohibition against the return of Hydar, or even his stay in Tibet. On this the army dispersed and took their way back to Yárkand as best they could in small parties straggling all over the country.

Iskandar and Hydar were soon left with only fifty adherents. And with these they set out in the ensuing winter to make their way to Badakshan by the route of Tághdumbásh, Janác, and Saníc, and Pámir. The party was reduced to twenty-seven men by sickness and death by the time they reached the Cará Coram, which they crossed in *Sumbul*=September—October. Here Iskandar with four men parted from his companion and friend, and took the road to Yárkand; whilst Hydar with the remaining twenty-one, following an unknown track, wandered for three days over a desolate waste of mountains and snows, on which they shot several *cutás*=wild ox (*bos grunniens*) of huge proportions for food, and finally arrived at Ráshgám, a populous little valley at seven days' journey from Pámir. Here the people (who, it would seem, were Musalmáns) welcomed the wanderers with hospitality, fed and clad them, and forwarded them on to Badakhshán, where Hydar found shelter with the King, Sulémán Shah, who was the son of his maternal aunt. Here he was soon after joined by his family from Yárkand, and by Iskandar, who was at the same time expelled the country by Rashíd.

In the autumn they all set out together by way of Kabul to join Kamrán, the son of Bábur, at Láhore. From this Hydar proceeded to the Court of Humáyún, and was by him equipped and sent to conquer and govern Kashmír. He entered the country over the passes on the 22nd *Rajab* 948 H.=1541 A.D., and it was in its capital that he wrote the *Tárikhi Rashídí* from which these details are derived.

Sa'id, entitled Sultán Sa'id Khan Gházi, was considered a generous, just, and mild prince, and pious during his later years as a disciple of Khoja Kháwind Mahmúd of the Hanáfi sect. His son and successor, Rashíd, was the child of a slave girl who, when seven months pregnant with him by Sa'id, was carried off prisoner by the Uzbek when they invaded Andiján. Sa'id recovered her and the infant when he returned to the country by the aid of Bábur, who was his uncle's son. At this time Mirzá Hydar's sister, Habíba Sultán Kháním, arrived in Andiján from Samarcand, and Rashíd aged three years was in 915 H.=1509 A.D. made over to her to be educated.

At the age of thirteen years Rashíd accompanied his father in the expedition against Mugholistán. He was on this occasion taken prisoner at Akhsí by Jáníbeg, but was recovered on his expulsion from Farghána. He was subsequently sent to govern in Mugholistán with Mirzá Hydar as his *Wazir*, but returned to Káshghar on the invasion of that region by the Cazzác and Uzpak. At eighteen years of age he was sent with Hydar on a *ghazát* against the pagans of Bolor in 934 H.=1527 A.D., and on his return thence was sent to the government of Acsú. After six months stay with him there Mirza Hydar joined Sa'id's expedition into Tibet as *Wazir* to his son Iskandar.

On accession to the throne Rashíd Sultán allied with the Shaibán Khans, and killed and banished all his father's faithful adherents. Mansúr twice attacked him to recover Acsú, but was each time repulsed with loss.

He banished all his brothers and uncles, and his father's wives, and beggared the whole family. He allied with the Uzbek, and gave his sisters in marriage to their nobles. During his reign (of thirty-three years) he annexed Andiján on the one side, and Turfán on the other. In his time the Uzbek gained domination over the Mughol, who were in two great divisions called Mughol and Chaghtáy. The Mughol are the same as the Jattah and Cirghiz, and they number thirty thousand families in Turfán and Káshghar; they are mostly pagans, and the meanest of mankind. They call the Chaghtáy by way of derision Carádánás. T. R.

According to the Táríkhi Khánán Chaghtáya (a book I have not had an opportunity of examining), Rashíd left two sons, 'Abdul Karím and Muhammad Khan, each of whom succeeded to a divided government in turn. In the reign of the latter the Cirghiz invaded the country, and the dynasty of Chaghtáy Khans collapsed 980 H.=1572 A. D. by the dismemberment of the country between rival representatives of the family; having endured two hundred and twelve years under varying fortunes since its first establishment 761 H.=1360 A. D. by Toghlúc Tymúr. T.K.C.

During the two centuries of rule under the Chaghtáy Khans, Islám in Mugholistan recovered the check it had suffered under the invasion by Changíz, and the government of his immediate successors. And with the influx of Muhammadan divines during the reigns of the first rulers of that dynasty, soon acquired a more fanatic influence amongst the people than it had ever before exhibited. This was due to the proselitizing zeal and activity of the Musalmán merchant priests who traversed the country in all directions, and spread their doctrine more by example and persuasive devices than by force. P.

The graves of the early champions of the Faith, who fell martyrs to the cause of its propagation in this region, were everywhere diligently sought out, their occupants canonized as saints, and their tombs converted into sacred shrines endowed with all sorts of beneficent virtues. Rich grants of land were apportioned by successive Khans for the support of their establishments, whose presiding elders in return dispensed, in the name of their patron saint, endless favors and bounties to an illiterate and superstitious peasantry—by means of magic charms for the cure of disease, by professed miraculous aversions of calamity, and by promised attainment of desires. By methods such as these the priesthood gradually acquired an overwhelming influence over the minds of the people, and soon exerted it to control their domestic life, and finally to usurp the direction of their political conduct and relations.

In the reign of Rashíd Sultan, the great saint and divine of the age, the celebrated Mauláná Sayyid Khoja Kásáni, more commonly known as the Makhdúmi 'Azam—"The Great Master," the metropolitan of Samarcand, visited Káshghar. He was received with the most profound reverence and devotion by the citizens, and was granted rich estates by the Khan. Whilst here he married a lady of the place, Bibi Chiya, and she bore him a son, the Khoja Ishác.

Some of the Makhdúm's sons settled at Káshghar, and by virtue of their exalted parentage, which they traced up to the prophet, enjoyed a reverential deference from all classes, and were with it accorded by the rulers a leading part in the councils of the government. This liberty they soon turned to the advancement of their personal interests, and, consequently, jealousy and rivalry divided the brotherhood; and two great factions, which exist to the present day, were formed, each supported by its own adherents and partizans amongst the people.

The party siding with the *Imámi Kalán*, Khoja Muhammad Amin (the eldest son of the Makhdúm by a daughter of the Sayyid Yúsuf of Kásán) whose seat was at Artosh, was styled *Actaghluç* = "White mountaineer," from the Actagh or "white mountains" to the north, to which they looked for extraneous support from the Cirghiz there.

The party of the younger son, Khoja Ishác, was called *Carataghluç* = "Black mountaineer," from the Caratagh or "black mountains" to the west of his seat at Khánaric, to whose Cirghiz they looked for aid.

P. This introduction of the Cirghiz into the internal politics of Káshghar soon produced a confused state of anarchy amongst the several Chiefs ruling the country, and their ambitious rivals amongst the priesthood—between the Khan's, successors of Rashíd on the one hand, and the Khoja's, descendants of Makhdúmi Azam on the other.

I have not met with any connected account of the events of this period. It appears, however, that in the time of Khoja Muhammad Yúsuf, the son and successor of Khoja Muhammad Amin at Artosh, the whole country was split up into independent Chiefships amongst the sons of Rashíd. Thus 'Abdulla held Khutan, Muhammad Khan ruled at Yárkand, Isma'íl at Káshghar, Khudábanda at Acsú, 'Abdurrashíd at Kúchá, and

at Turfán, and they were all inextricably embroiled in mutual jealousies and hostilities, till Khoja Hidáyatulla, the son of Khoja Yúsuf, succeeded, by the aid of the Zúnghári, in acquiring the supreme control of the government.

Y.C. It was during this period of divided authority that Benedict Goës, in November 1603 A.D. arrived at Yárkand, where he found Muhammad Khán was the ruler. Goës owed his favourable reception here, and safe passage through the country to a purely fortuitous circumstance. On his way up from Lahore he was delayed several months at Kabul, and finally set out thence in the caravan of Háji Kháním, the sister of the Káshghar ruler, to whom he was able to render a service by the loan of six hundred pieces of gold, which the lady, returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca with an empty purse and no credit, was unable to raise amongst the Kabul merchants to meet her pressing requirements and needs. On arrival at Yárkand, after a perilous and adventuresome journey through the robber-haunted passes of Badakhshán and Wakhán, the lady repaid her debt in precious jade from Khutan of which city her son was the Governor, and, in requital of his goodness, befriended the stranger and procured for him a friendly reception, and the protection of both her brother and son. Goës stayed here some months under the much needed hospitality and protection of Muhammad Khán, who ultimately forwarded the Christian Missionary on his journey by Jálísh and Turfán to the Chinese frontier where he died. In connection with the religious ferment in the country at the time of this Christian Missionary's visit, it is interesting to note that Muhammad Khán bravely took the friar's part in his adherence to the truth and merits of his own saving faith, and listened to his theological arguments in a spirit of toleration, and with a liberality of mind not to have been expected amongst such a fanatic crew. Indeed, he seems to have acted exceptionally, and more than once had to interpose his protection to shield his guest from the blood thirsty fanaticism and bigotted intolerance of his subjects.

T.H. In the struggle for ascendancy between the Actághlúc and Carátághlúc factions, the leader of the former, Mullá Fázil of Artosh, in 1031 H.=1618 A.D., called to his aid the Khoja Kalán of Khujand, the son of Khoja Muhammad Sádúddín of Coba in the ancient country of Kaikobád and Afrásyáb. He came with a force of a thousand men, and was established at Káshghar; but the sons of Khudábanda from Acsú at once besieged the city with the aid of the Yárkand troops and their Cirghiz and Capchác levies. They harassed the suburbs for six months till at length the Khoja, raising a force amongst the citizens, made a sortie and drove off the besiegers with severe loss.

M.V. The Actághlúc party now took the lead, and ultimately in the person of Khoja Hidáyatulla aspired to the direct control of the government. On this Isma'íl, the Ruler of Káshghar, drove him from the city to Kashmir. He repaired from this to the Daláy Lamma, who sent him with a recommendation for aid to the Ghaldan of Zúnghár. That Chief, however, took the opportunity to annex the country, and, establishing the Khoja as his own governor at Yárkand as the capital, exiled the family of Isma'íl to Ghuljá, the capital of his own government. Hidáyatulla, however, though supported by Calmác authority, had a troubled rule owing to the opposition and intrigues of the rival faction.

T.H. The following particulars regarding this remarkable character, the founder of the Khoja power in the country of which he is now venerated as the patron saint,

are gathered from the *Tazkira Hidáyat*, written by Mír Kháluddín of Yárkand shortly after the Khojá's death :— T.H.

Khoja Hidáyatulla, usually called Hazrat Afác = "Most High Presence," was the son of Khoja Muhammad Yúsuf, the son of Khoja Muhammad Amin, the son of Hazrat Makhdúmi 'Azam. He held entire dominion, spiritual and temporal, over the Mughol States of Káshghar, Yárkand, Khutan, Acsú, Kúchá, and Turfán, and had many disciples in Khitá, Bulghár, Urús, and Hindustan. He held a fifth part of Mugholistán in *jágr* = demesne, and received tithes from his disciples in foreign lands; from Kashmir and Badakshán, and the Tungáni in Khitá notably.

Amongst the people of Káshghar he was held as a Prophet second only to Muhammad, and in his miraculous powers of healing the sick and restoring the dead he was reckoned the equal of Hazrat 'Isá = "Lord Jesus." His bearing exercised a marvellous effect upon the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground, whilst all were irresistably attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love. His miracles are said to be countless; yet in his early career scoffers and unbelievers were not wanting.

'Abdurrashíd, the Ruler of Yárkand, was his enemy, and appointed a partizan, one Mullá 'Abdulla, to the office of Cází in the city. He took every opportunity to destroy the Saint's growing influence, and in his Court of Justice used to denounce Afác as a hypocrite and rogue who, in the garb of a *darvesh*, took the property of the people to keep his retinue of slave boys in gilded crowns, and to deck his concubines innumerable in silks and brocades. The speech of the bold tongued Cazi was reported to Afác, but he merely remarked with meek resignation that God would in due time visit him with due reward. Shortly after this the ruler was present at an entertainment given by the object of his vituperation, and was choked by a bone sticking in his throat. His friends fell at the Saint's feet, and offering all his wealth, and the sinner's repentance, implored him to save the man's life.

Afác bid his neighbour hit the Cází a blow on the throat, and as he did so the bone was ejected to the dying man's relief. Of the company some laughed, some wept, and others fainted, but the scoffing Cází recovered, and through very shame retired into private life at Acsú. From this he afterwards returned as a partizan and favored servant of the Saint's son and successor.

Mirzá Sháh Mahmúd, a Jarás noble of Yárkand, was another prominent scoffer. He was a debauchee and opium-smoker, and reviled the sanctity of Afác, saying "were he really a man of God he would have cured me of my evil ways." His brother, Ghází Beg, was an equally infidel railer. But both very soon met a just retribution. The one died from an overdose of his favorite drug, and the other of a severe colic whilst out hunting even before they could carry him home. It was by such miracles as these that Afác's sanctity was proved and established. During his reign Afác warred twelve years with the Cirghiz and Calmác before he acquired the sole sovereignty. Attended by Mullá 'Alím of Yárkand he accompanied Yorbárs Khan on his fatal campaign against Khitá, and gained many disciples amongst the Tungáni there.

In his time Muhammad Amin Khán, Ruler of Yárkand, went against his brother, Khudábanda, at Acsú. He fell sick on the way, and was brought back in a *jérghál* = "horse litter," but died before reaching his home. His friends at once took the body to Afác, and the Khán's mother, Begum Pádsháh, falling at the Saint's feet, presented twenty thousand *tanga* = four thousand rupees in cash, and promising ten thousand more implored his intercession to restore her son to life. Afác was at breakfast at the time, and taking a spoonful of gruel from his bowl applied it to the mouth of the defunct. A perspiration presently broke out over the body, the limbs began to move, and on the third day the dead man was riding about as usual. It was such miracles as this that gained for Hazrat Afác the reputation of a second Hazrat 'Isá.

T.H. Khudábanda now raised an army of Cirghiz and Calmác to avenge this attack upon Yárkand. Muhammad Amin at once appealed to Afác for protection, and the Saint thus disclosed to the ruler of the State his own ambition: "Hold! Khan! Restrain your desires. This country of Mugholistán is the garden of the Khojas. I entrust it to your care. Do no violence, nor oppression. Be the friend of God's friends. Withhold your tongue from the slander of my people, and be the enemy of my enemies. If you fail in these duties eternal pains and tortures are your lot, for the wrath of the Saints is a reflexion of the wrath of God. Khudábanda is your vassal. He now draws his sword? Go you against him. The spirit of the Saints upholds your arms. Victory and triumph are yours. My son from Káshghar, Khoja Muhammad Yahya, goes with you."

Accordingly they set out together with a large army against Acsú. The fort was taken, Khudábanda was seized and taken before Muhammad Amín, who at once slew him. The victory was claimed by the Khoja as the result of Afác's miraculous aid; and on the return of the victorious army, he presented the deserving of the soldiers before his father for reward. Amongst the foremost of these was Khudábirdi BÍ, Chongbaghish Cirghiz, who was the first to assault and force the gate of the castle. The Saint cast a benign glance on the hero, and inquired "What desirest thou? Oh Mír!" The Cirghiz saluting replied "*Tacsír Pádsháhim!* = Sire! My King! By your high favour I have no lack of worldly wealth. I have herds of horses, and strings of camels, and droves of oxen. My flocks of goats and sheep are countless, and there is no limit to the number of my slaves and wenches; but I have no son." "How many wives have you?" asked the Saint. "*Tacsír!* I have two wives" replied the Mír. Afác took two apples from a tray set before him, and handing them to the Cirghiz BÍ, said "Give this to the one wife, and this to the other wife." And so he dismissed him. The hero returned home and did as he was bid. Each wife conceived, and in due course each gave birth to a son. This miracle is notorious in all the Káshghar and Yárkand territory.

Following this in 1043 H.=1630 A.D., Muhammad Amín Khán, alarmed at the rapid rise of Afác and jealous of his power, declared war against him, and closing the roads to Hindustan and Badakhshán to prevent his escape, vowed to exterminate the whole Khoja race. On this Afác summoned the aid of Yahya, called also Khan Khoja as the eldest of his sons; and on his arrival from Káshghar with a numerous army, the troops of the Khán deserted to the Khoja; and thus reduced to helplessness Muhammad Amín forgot his boasts and threats, and sought safety by flight. He was pursued, captured, and executed beyond the Yárkand river.

Afác after this gained supreme control of the government. In his later years he resigned the reins of authority to Yahya, who for fifteen years had been the custodian of the family sepulchre at Artosh and the superior of its attached monastery, and retired to spend his declining years in the society of his disciples over whom his magic influence produced a spell of servile devotion.

Afác converted nearly a hundred thousand people to Islám, not reckoning the ladies of the nobility and gentry amongst whom he exercised an influence and control of a mysterious and imperious nature. He died suddenly at Yárkand in the midst of a theological discussion with his disciples in the beginning of *Rajab* 1105 H.=1693 A.D., and was buried in the vault of his father at Altún Artosh. His funeral was attended by ten thousand relatives, disciples, and retainers. His grave is now the holiest shrine in the country, and is called *Mazár fyzulawór Astánæ Hazrat Eshán 'Alishán Hazrat Afác*="The shrine bounteous in lights, the threshold of His Eminent Presence, the Most High Presence."

During the life of Afác, the mausoleum and monastery built over the grave of his father, were destroyed and burned by the Cirghiz and Cazzác invaders. Yahya rebuilt them, and, adding a college and alms-houses, much enlarged the area of the shrine. And he gave the revenues of Fyzábád, Daulatbágh, and the Arwát canal in bequest for their maintenance. These buildings were completed only shortly

before the death of Afác who, on being informed that all was ready for him to open and bless the institution, foretold his speedy arrival there for his last resting place. T.H.

On the death of Afác, the succession to the government was immediately contested by his sons. Yahya, who had for some years conducted the government over seventeen cities of Mugholistán, was killed within seven months, at the end of Safar 1106 H., through the intrigues of Khánim Pádsháh, the widow of Afác. She was a daughter of Rashíd, and a grand-daughter of Sultán Sa'id, and now used her influence with the nobles and chiefs in favour of her own son, Mahdi, at that time aged sixteen years. This excited the jealousy of the *darvesh*, and being instigated by other members of the family, they soon after attacked her palace, and killing her, set it on fire.

In the midst of this confusion Acbásh, a brother of Yahya, came from Turfán and seizing Yárkand, drove the youthful sons of Afác, namely, Khoja Husen (called Baghra Khan by his father) aged nine years, and Calich Burhánuddin, aged five years, and other members of the family to Hindustán. Sixteen years later Husen returned from his exile, and became the Governor of Yárkand and Káshghar.

Acbásh on gaining possession of the city quarrelled with his Cirghiz and Capchác allies, and, after some desultory warfare, was seized and executed at Yángí Hissár by Arzú Muhammad, the Cirghiz leader; who then fought to oust his rival comrade Camát Bi, the Capchác Chief; and in the end they destroyed each other.

Afác, in his first attempt to seize the government of the country, was unsuccessful, and was driven from Káshghar by its Ruler, Isma'il Khan, to take refuge in Kashmír. From this he repaired to the Daláy Lamma who sent him with a recommendation for aid to the Ghaldan=Khán, or Chief of the Olot Calmác, or Eleuth of Zúnghár. M.V.

The Ghaldan, however, took the opportunity to seize the country for himself, and in 1678 A.D. appointed Afác his Governor at Yárkand as the capital, with a large staff of Calmác officials supported by garrisons in the different towns. At the same time he carried off Isma'il and his family into exile at Ghúlja, his own capital.

Afác distributed the several offices of government and provincial charges amongst his Actághlúc partizans, in subordination to the Zúnghári Chiefs who, however, themselves took no part in the internal administration of the government. They were content merely to hold the country and realize the monthly tribute of four hundred thousand *tanga*=eighty thousand rupees.

Anarchy and hostility, however, continued for several years between the two factions, till the Carátághlúc being defeated finally emigrated to Kashmír. Afác now to allay suspicion resigned the government to his brother, Isma'il Muhammad, the Governor of Úsh Turfán, and set him to attack the Zúnghári. He fell upon the Calmác, and, plundering their camps, seized an immense number of captives and great booty in cattle. He then feared the vengeance of the Ghaldan, and fled to the mountains, where he was killed by his own guides. On this Afác resumed the government.

On the assassination of Yahya after the death of Afác, his brother from Turfán seized Yárkand as already mentioned. To maintain himself there against his opponents, Acbásh called to his aid from Khujand one Khoja Dányál of the Carátághlúc faction. On this the people of Káshghar brought in Khoja Ahmad, Actághlúc, and set him up as ruler, and war then followed between the rivals.

The Actághlúc, with their Cirghiz partizans, besieged Yárkand to seize Dányál, but were repulsed by the Cirghiz under their leader Háshim Khan in the interest of the Carátághlúc. His success, however, was short lived, for the Khoja intrigues presently drove him to retire to his steppes. Dányál now gained over the Calmác, who joined him at Yárkand to avenge the invasion from Káshghar against which they marched together. The city surrendered after a few skirmishes, and the Calmác chief, appointing as governor a citizen chosen by the people, took both Ahmad and Dányál prisoners to Ila or Ghúlja, and thus restored quiet to the country.

M.V. In 1720 A.D. Zaban Raptan (Arabdán Khan of the Zúnghári?) restored Dányál to the government of Alty Shahr=six cities, but appointed his own Governors in each of them, and fixed the revenue at a hundred thousand *tanga*=twenty thousand rupees, that of Afác being a thousand *tanga*=two hundred rupees *per centum* of his subjects. He at the same time kept Chagán, the eldest son of Dányál, as a hostage at Ila, whither Dányál repaired periodically to render account of his government.

W.W. Arabdán Khán of the Zúnghári died in 1720 A.D., and, his sons disputing the throne, the rule was seized by the rival Chiefs, Amursana and Tawats, or Davatsi. The usurpers quarrelled as to the division of authority, and Amursana going to Pekin for aid returned with a Chinese army and expelled Tawats. He then rebelled against the Chinese Emperor, and defeated two armies sent against him by Kienlung. But he succumbed to the third, and fled to Tobolsk, where he died in 1757 A.D.

His territory then fell to Kienlung, who nearly exterminated the Zúnghári and Olot, and then invited the Túrgút or Tourgouth emigrants from their settlements on the Volga, and they returned to their ancient patrimony in 1772 A.D. Meanwhile Chinese troops and colonists, with exiles and nomads soon re-peopled the country depopulated by the massacre of half a million people during the Chinese conquest. And the Mánchú authority was established by a system of conciliation and coercion judiciously combined; whilst the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of the country, and the protection afforded to commerce, soon restored prosperity.

M.V. Ghaldan Chiring on succeeding to the throne confirmed Dányál in his appointment; but after his death, to weaken the power of the Carátaghlúc faction, he divided the government of the country amongst his several sons. Thus to the eldest, Khoja Chagán, he gave Yárkand, to Yúsuf he gave Káshghar, and similarly Acsú to 'Ayúb, and Khutan to 'Abdulla; with a Calmác agent conjointly at each place.

The mother of Yúsuf was the daughter of a Calmác *Noyán*="Noble," and he spent his youth in Zúnghár by the order of the Khán Tawats. Now seeing the dissension reigning there he got leave to go and defend Káshghar from a pretended attack by the Cirghiz. But on arrival there in 1754 A.D. he set to work to raise an army to free his country, at the very time that Amursana was seeking the aid of the Boghdo Khan for the rule of the Zúnghári against his rival Davatsi.

The conduct of Yúsuf excited suspicion, and the Calmác Governor of the city plotted to assassinate him whilst at prayers in the mosque. The plot, however, was disclosed to him, and Yúsuf seizing the chief actor, Khudáyár, the *Ishikagha* or "Mayor," executed him. But his accomplices, a son of Khudáyár and 'Abdussattár (a Beg of Artosh), escaped to Ila with the intelligence of the revolt at Káshghar. Meanwhile at Yárkand, the Governor, Ghází Beg, seized Chagán, and Yúsuf at once went to his aid with the cry of Islám. He at the same time sent a force of a thousand men to Barchak to intercept the road and prevent the Calmác carrying off Chagán to Ila. Presently Sadíc, the son of Chagán, appeared with aid from the opposite direction. He hurried up from Khutan with seven thousand men and some Cirghiz levies, and managed to get possession of the family of Ghazi Beg, whom he threatened with their torture and death unless he released his father. The Governor fearing for them, and dreading the vengeance of Yúsuf, set free his captive, and sought forgiveness with the Curán on his head. And he was pardoned at the intercession of Chagán himself.

In the meantime Yúsuf had sent envoys to Khocand and Bukhára reporting the overthrow of the Zúnghári rule, and seeking the aid of the faithful in support of Islám. The independence of these cities, however, of Káshghar, Yárkand, and Khutan, was not of long duration.

In 1757 A.D., after Amursana had returned to Zúnghár with a Chinese army, his rival, Davatsi, fled with three hundred men by the Múzárt Pass to Ush Turfán. He was here seized by Khojám Beg, the Governor, and delivered to the Chinese who, settling Amursana at Ila with a Chinese garrison in support, thus possessed themselves of the rule in Zúnghár.

Amursana now set to re-subjugate the three revolted cities, and by the advice of 'Abdul Wahháb and Khoja Sayyid Beg, Governors on the part of the Calmác of Acsú and Úsh Turfán respectively, and with the consent of the Chinese General, resolved to make use of the Actághlúc party for the purpose. M.V.

Burhánuddín and Khan Khoja, the sons of Ahmad (whose family had great influence at Káshghar), were at this time in exile at 'Irin Khabirghan on the head waters of the Ila river to the east of Ghúlja. They were consequently summoned to the city where Khan Khoja was retained as hostage, whilst his brother was sent with a force of Calmác, Chinese, and Turkistání to Acsú. Here Burhánuddín was well received, and with his army reinforced by five thousand Musalmáns from Kúchá, Turfán, and Acsú itself, and by the Dolán tribe to the south, set out with his new adherents to Úsh Turfán. Here, too, he received a joyful welcome, but was detained some time owing to a coalition of the rebel States to oppose him.

The confederates were already on the march from Yárkand by way of Yángí Hissár and Artosh to check the advance of Burhánuddín, when Yúsuf died in his retreat at Yárkand. His son, 'Abdulla, was at once installed as ruler at Káshghar with the title of Khoja Pádshah, and he lost no time in sending his son, Khoja Mullám, with the Káshghar contingent to join the Yárkand force, and they together besieged Úsh Turfán.

Here the Carátághlúc besiegers proposed to the besieged Actághlúc that they should lay aside their party jealousies and combine as Musalmáns, and invade Ila. And by way of inducement they promised Burhánuddín the government of Káshghar, Acsú, and Turfán. But he, being surrounded by the Chinese and Calmác, told the deputation to advise the Carátághlúc leaders to go to Ila, and seek the pardon of the Chinese Emperor through his Viceroy there. Meantime some of the Actághlúc in the besieging force secretly plotted with Burhánuddín, and in the first fight went over to him in a body with the Cirghiz whom they had won to their side.

On this the besiegers dispersed, and their leaders fled back to Káshghar, where Burhánuddín, following in pursuit, was received with open arms. From this he advanced against Khoja Chagán, who held Yárkand, and in the names of the Boghdo Khan and Amursana demanded his surrender to Chinese protection. Chagán sent a reply of defiance, and with the cry of "Islám" raised the populace for a *ghazá*. Burhánuddín consequently closely besieged the city, and finally, after some skirmishing in which 'Ináyat, the son of Chagán, was killed, took it through the treachery of Ghází Beg, who on a pretence of famine led Chagán to make a sortie with all his force to raise the siege.

In the sally Ghází Beg took flight, and threw the defenders into confusion, and the besiegers rallying drove them into the city. During the night Chagán fled with his family, and next day Ghází Beg surrendered the city to Burhánuddín. Chagán was pursued and overtaken at the Zaráfshán river, where Arka, a son of Yúsuf, was killed in the conflict, whilst Nazar with two attendants escaped to India. The rest were taken back to Yárkand, and all executed. And so the Actághlúc replaced the Carátághlúc in the government of the country. In 1758 A.D., Burhánuddín aided by his brother, Khan Khoja, rebelled, and, consequently, in the following year a Chinese army under the Governor of Ila invaded the country, and after a succession of contests drove the rebel brothers to seek refuge in Badakhshán. Here the King, Sultan 'Sháh, killed them both, and sent their heads to the Chinese General, and Káshghar was annexed as an integral part of the Chinese Empire under the Provincial Governor of Ila. In this war four of the sons of Afác were killed in fight, and two were taken prisoners to Peking for execution there. Only one son of Burhánuddín escaped. His name was Khoja Sa'ádat 'Ali, commonly called Sarimsak.

The Chinese to consolidate their authority in this western province of their Empire in 1764 A.D. built Hoi Yuan Chen on the River Ila, and re-settled Zúngbaría, which had been depopulated by the massacre of half a million people, by Chinese emigrants and exiles from Kansuh, and with Sibo, Solon, and Daur colonists,

M.V. and a Manchú garrison of soldiers of the Green Dragon standard. In the Ila district seven thousand Musalmán families were reduced to serfdom as tillers of the soil, whilst the remnant of the Zúnghári were granted roaming tracts in their former locale. The government was confided to a *Tzian Tziun* or *Jáng-Jung* = "Viceroy," with three Lieutenants at Ila, Túrbaghátai, and Káshghar; but the details of local government were left to be administered as before by Musalmán officers. Chinese garrisons, however, were located in the principal cities, outposts were established on the frontiers, and post stages built on all the main routes for quick communication. And thus the Chinese secured their conquest.

This success of the Chinese arms alarmed the Islám polity all over Central Asia, though the border Chiefs immediately under their influence professed vassalage to the Chinese Emperor. Ablai of the Middle Horde in 1766 A.D. submitted to the Boghdo Khán, and was granted the title of Prince. Núr 'Ali of the Little Horde in token of submission sent envoys to Pekin. Whilst Adania or Erdáná Bí, the Khan of Khocand in 1758 A.D., and then his successor, Nárbota Bí, recognized the protectorate of China. But the rest of Central Asia was panic-struck by the establishment of the Chinese rule on their very frontier.

In 1762 A.D. Chinese mandarins with an escort of a hundred and thirty men went to Ablai, and demanded horses and supplies for an army to invade Turkistán and Samarcand in the spring. On this Erdáná Bí of Táshkand, and Fazl Bí of Khujand, and the independent Cirghiz Chiefs sent envoys to seek aid from Sháh Ahmad—the Durráni who, after the death of Nadir, had raised Afghanistan into an independent kingdom, and the Afgháns to the proud position of the most powerful nation of the East.

Ahmad had, ten years before, conquered all the country on the left bank of the Oxus from Chárjúe up to its head waters in Badakhshán, and now in 1763 A.D., in answer to the call for Islámite aid, he sent a force of Afgháns to protect the frontier between Táshkand and Khocand. And at the same time he sent an embassy direct to Pekin to demand the restitution of the Muhammadan States of Eastern Turkistán. Meanwhile in 1765 A.D. the people of Úsh Turfán, forestalling the Musalmán aid reckoned on, rose in revolt, but the rebellion was at once quelled by a massacre of the citizens and the complete destruction of the town.

The Afghán deputation was not well received at the Chinese capital, and the Durráni sovereign was at the time too much engaged against the Sikhs to turn his attention in this direction. And the Chinese on their side were deterred from further conquest in the helpless States of Central Asia to the west by the presence of an Afghán army of fifteen thousand men in Badakhshán; sent there to ravage the country and execute the King, Sultan Sháh, in revenge for his murder of the two refugee Khojas in 1760 A.D. They brought under subjection, however, the Cirghiz on the north-west, and yearly sent a force from Káshghar and Turbaghatai, accompanied by Chinese traders for barter, to collect the annual revenue of one per cent. of horses and cattle and one per mille of sheep, in return for the privilege of pasturing on the steppe between Lake Balkash and the Alátágh.

After the revolt of Úsh Turfán, the Chinese rule was undisturbed till 1816 A.D., when Zi'áuddín Akhúnd, Carátághlúc of Táshmalik or Táshbalígh = "stone town," to the west of Káshghar, rebelled and with a party of Cirghiz raided the Chinese outposts. He was soon captured and executed, but his son, Ashraf Beg, carried on the war till he shared the same fate. His young brother, however, was sent to Pekin, where he was executed on attaining full age.

This quelled the Carátághlúc for a time, and the government went on without any serious outbreak till 1825 A.D., when the appearance of the Russians on the Bogú camp grounds and the seven rivers led to a decline of the Chinese prestige, which was presently confirmed by the revolt of the Khoja Jahángír.

Under the Chinese rule certain trading privileges were accorded to the city of Acsú and those to the west of it, which were not granted to Kúchá and the other cities to the east; whilst no Musalmán trader was allowed to go northward by the

Múzárt Pass. The cities to the westward of Acsú had always from their position shared a community of interests with Khocand or Andiján, anciently called Farghána (which during the time of the Mughol Khans was included in the government of Káshghar, as it was at an earlier period under the rule of the Bughra Khan family when Uzkan was the capital of one of their Princes), and the adjoining States of Máwaránahar, and in them the Khoja influence had always been greatest.

But the eastern cities on the other hand from Kúchá to Khánil had hardly felt this influence, and were from their vicinity and common interests more in unison with the Chinese. This natural tendency the Chinese authorities encouraged by a conciliating rule, and the grant of princely titles, whilst the Emperor himself, to strengthen the bonds of attachment, married a Khánil Princess.

The trading privileges enjoyed by the western towns enabled their people to maintain constant communication with their co-religionists to the west of the passes, and afforded them opportunities of intriguing with the Musalmáns there for the restoration of the Khoja rule, and the hatching of all sorts of sedition against the established government. To check the troubles and disquiet arising from this source, the Chinese in 1813 A.D. subsidized the Khan of Khocand with two hundred *yám* = £3,660 yearly to control the hostility of the Khojas, who since their conquest of the country had emigrated to his territory.

Amongst these was Sarimsak, the last descendant of the Afác family. After many years of wandering in Central Asia he settled in his old age at Khocand, to be near Káshghar, whence he derived his revenues. He was here joined by many Carátághlíc discontents from the Chinese side of the border, who complained of the oppression of the foreign rulers, the violation of their wives and daughters by the infidel, and the suppression of their religious supremacy. These grievances, coupled with the fate of the two murdered Khojas, excited universal sympathy amongst Musalmáns, and to fan it, emissaries set out from Káshghar in 1820 A.D., and spread themselves over Central Asia to enlist the aid of Islám in a *ghazá* against the *káfir* invaders.

As a first consequence Murád Beg, the Ruler of Cundúz, on the pretence of avenging the murder of the Khoja brothers on behalf of his relative, Sarimsak, conquered Badakhshán, and deported its people to sicken and die in the swamps of his own country. And as a second Jahángír Khoja invaded Káshghar.

Sarimsak had three sons, Yúsuf Khoja, who lived at Bukhárá, Bahaúddín, and Jahángír who was born in 1783 A. D. On the death of 'Umar Khan of Khocand in 1822 A. D., Jahángír fled from the city to the Cará Cirghiz, and plotted against Káshghar, where the devotion of the people to the Khoja interest and the weakness of the Chinese rule were well known to him. His hostility now was the commencement of those troubles which have ever since distracted the country till its conquest by the present Ruler, Amir Muhammad Yácúb Khan, Atálik Ghází.

Jahángír first enlisted the aid of Súránchí Beg, Chongbaghish Cirghiz, who merely plundered the Káshghar suburbs and was driven back. On this failure the Khoja went to the Sáyak Cirghiz of Bolor, and securing the adhesion of their Chiefs, Atantai and Tailac, made the summer resort of the Cirghiz camps on the upper course of the Nárín river his head-quarters. Here he assumed the character of a saint and miracle worker, and made many excursions against the enemy; but without much success, till at last in 1825 A.D. a small party of Chinese who had pursued his raiders to the Nárín, and plundered the country up to Fort Kurtka, were surprized in a narrow defile on their return journey and slaughtered almost to a man.

This victory was at once noised in Khocand, and emissaries were sent to raise the Uzbek, Cazzác, and Búrút Cirghiz, many of whom with Andijáni and Badakhshí adventurers flocked to the green banner of Jahánghír. In the following spring the Khoja marched against Káshghar with a considerable force under the command of 'Isa *Dákkhókh*, lent to him as General by Muhammad Ali Khan of Khocand, and camped at Beshkirim in its northern suburbs.

The Chinese came out to attack, but were quickly routed and driven back to their citadel, whilst Jahángír entering the city amidst the acclamations of the people

M.V. established himself in the palace with the title of Sayyid Jahángír Sultán, and a once organized his government on the Khocand model, substituting the Musalmán turban for the Chinese cap, balls, and feathers. He allowed most of the Begs to retain their posts, but appointed Andiján partizans to the principal offices, and executed Muhammad Sa'id of Khámil, the *Wang* = Governor on the part of the Chinese for his opposition.

On the fall of Káshghar, the people of Yangi Hissar, Yárkand, and Khutan rose simultaneously, and massacring the Chinese everywhere, razed their forts and joined the service of the Khoja. In June Muhammad 'Ali Khan, jealous of the Khoja's success, himself appeared at Káshghar with fifteen thousand men to join in the *ghazá*, but he was coldly received by Jahángír, who looked upon him as a dangerous rival. The Khan, however, set vigorously to work to take the Chinese fort of Gulbágh, a few hundred yards to the west of the city, in which the garrison still held out; but his efforts proving ineffectual, and having lost a thousand men under its walls in twelve days, his ardour cooled as rapidly as it had glowed, and he returned to his principality there to make amends for the disappointment in adding a new province to his dominions by stamping the envied title of *Ghází* on his coinage.

Jahángír meantime continued the siege of the Gulbágh, and it fell to him on the seventeenth day. The Chinese Governor and principal officers committed suicide, whilst their troops fleeing in all directions were captured and massacred to the number of eight thousand men. Only four hundred of the captives were spared on their professing Islám, and they were at once distributed over Máwaránahar as an inducement to the Faithful to rally round Jahángír.

Muhammad 'Ali Khan now uneasy at the growing success of the Khoja, discouraged volunteers and plotted with 'Isa *Dádkhwáh* to raise a mutiny amongst his troops. The General's plans, however, were timely discovered, and he was reduced from his post of *Mingbáshí*, and the disorder quelled. Many other plots against Jahángír now came to light, but he was generally popular and had the support of the Musalmáns everywhere.

P. Meanwhile the Chinese Viceroy at 'Ila had been active in his preparations to recover the revolted cities, and despatched an immense force of Tungání, Khitáy, and Calmác against the rebels. The Chinese army arrived at Acsú in January (six months after the fall of Káshghar), under the command of a Jáng Júng Tán, with a Jáng Júng and several Ambán. From this in the early spring a force of twelve thousand men was sent by way of Cáy Yoli to Khutan, and another of seven thousand men to Yárkand, whilst the main army of eighty thousand men assembling at Marálbáshí set out thence against Káshghar. Jahángír in the meantime had concentrated his Khutan and Yárkand levies at the capital, and on the approach of the Chinese sent out an army of fifty thousand men to oppose them.

The hostile armies met at Yangabad, and according to custom each put forward a champion for single combat. That of the Chinese was a giant Calmác archer fantastically dressed like a devil dragon; whilst the champion on the side of Jahángír was a noted Khocandi warrior equally versed in sword and rifle practice and clad in gaudy silks and chain armour. The two advanced to the contest on the open plain backed by their respective supporters. But whilst the Khocandi was adjusting his rifle the Calmác shot an arrow through his chest and out between the shoulders, and his adversary fell dead on the spot. A skirmish followed between the supporting parties, but the Káshghar army, disheartened by the untoward commencement of the contest, soon broke and fled in disorder. They were pursued with great slaughter and loss in captives as far as Cazán Kol, where the Chinese army camped for the night.

Next day they advanced in three great divisions by the Yangi Hissar road on the south, Daulathagh on the east, and Sarman on the west, and invested the city on three sides. During the night Jahángír with seven followers fled by the Chacmác Pass to the Carátakka mountain, where he was stopped by the snow, and

his troops, finding themselves thus deserted, next day dispersed and took the road to Andiján. They were pursued and cut up by numerous detachments of Chinese, some of whom penetrated as far as Ush, whence they were repelled and driven back by the Cirghiz and Capchác who rallied to the defence of their homesteads and beaten countrymen. Meantime the Chinese General sent a force under Ishác Wáng with the Chih Ambán, Dawán Ambán and others in pursuit of Jahángír. His hiding place was pointed out by some Cirghiz nomads of Carátakka, and Jahángír surrendering to his pursuers was brought back to the Jáng Júng Tán, who sent him prisoner to Pekin, where he was subsequently executed with torture.

In return for this service the Chinese General appointed Ishác Wáng of Ush Turfán (whose success on this occasion was due to the treachery of Jahángír's former ally, Suránchí Beg, Chongbaghish Cirghiz, who now thought to avert the punishment due to his own hostilities by delivering up to the victors their fallen enemy, and his own acknowledged spiritual leader and king) to the government of the city, and building the Yángishahr fort, a *farsakh* to the south of it, in place of the Gulbágh destroyed by Jahángír, established Jáh Dárin with a strong garrison in its command, and returned to Ila.

The Emperor Taukwang was delighted at the successful suppression of this revolt, and showered honors and rewards upon Changlung, his General of Ila, and upon his troops. For his good service he rewarded Ishác Wáng with the title of Prince of Káshghar. He was, however, soon after accused of treason and summoned to Pekin for trial, and though acquitted of the charge, he was detained there several years before being permitted to return.

Jahángír ruled only nine months, and in the spring of 1828 A.D. the Chinese recovering possession of the revolted cities re-established their authority by numerous executions and tortures and confiscations, and by the transportation of twelve thousand Musalmán families from Káshghar to Ghulja, where they were settled as serfs under the name of *taránchí*—"sweaters," "labourers."

This revolt of Jahángír, originating in Khocand, was the cause of the influence then acquired by that principality; and it has been maintained ever since to the final overthrow of the Chinese rule in Eastern Turkistan, as will be seen in the sequel. The Chinese, after quelling the revolt, punished the rebels as stated above, and avenged themselves on the Khocand Khán by stopping trade and placing restrictions on communication with his province.

On this Muhammad Ali Khán, who had recently annexed Carátakin, Darwáz and Kúláb and had made tributary the Burut and other Cirghiz, decided in 1829 A. D. to attack the Chinese. For this purpose he invited Khoja Yúsuf, the elder brother of Jahángír, from Bukhárá, and proclaimed a *ghazá* to set him on the throne of his ancestors. Yúsuf took the field in September 1830 with a force of 20,000 men, mostly Andijan and Tashkand troops, with some Carátakin levies and Káshghar refugees; all under the command of *Mingbáshí* Hacc Culi Beg, a brother-in-law of Muhammad Ali Khán.

The Chinese with 3,000 men advanced to oppose them, but were defeated at Mingyol, and the invaders pushing on seized Káshghar, where Yúsuf was at once set on the throne. Yángí Hissár, Yárkand, Khutan, and Acsu, up to the Múzárt Pass, quickly fell into his possession; and the Chinese, as before, were everywhere massacred; whilst the arrival of their troops from Ghulja was delayed for want of carriage.

This advance of the Khocand army roused the hostility of Bukhárá against Andijan, and Muhammad Ali Khán, to avert the attack threatened by Nasrulla Khán, at once recalled his General Hacc Culi Beg; and Yúsuf, unable to hold his position unsupported amongst the fickle Musalmáns of Káshghar, returned with him in November or December after a rule of only ninety days. He carried away as trophies of his success 500 Chinese captives, and was accompanied by several hundred families of Káshghar emigrants who settled in the suburbs of Khujand and Tashkand.

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M.V. During the period of this invasion, Western China was disturbed by the revolt in Shensi and the capture and massacre of Bárkúl by the Musalmáns, and consequently the Chinese troops did not concentrate at Ghúlja or Ila till the following January, after the Khocand army had retired from Káshghar.

In the spring of this year (1831), whilst they were re-occupying the evacuated towns, Muhammad Ali Khán, who had staved off his difficulty with Bukhárá, sent Hacc Culi Beg with an army of 7,000 men to subjugate the Cará Cirghiz who, during the recent troubles, had been raiding his border. He dispersed the Sáyak camps on the Upper Nárín, and took prisoners their chiefs Atantai and Tailac; whilst the Coshbegi of Táshkand at the same time pursued the Boghu tribes and penetrated beyond Ila to the military post of Sibo.

These successes of the Khocand Khán altered the policy of the Chinese Governor, who now sent four envoys to treat with Muhammad Ali Khán. He detained three of them as hostages, and with the fourth sent Alím Pádsháh, a rich merchant, as his agent to Pekin, with certain demands for the government of the Musalmán population of the towns of Eastern Turkistan. He secured the following concessions for the Khán: *first*, dues as per *shariat* on all merchandise brought by Musalmán traders to the towns of Acsú, Ush Turfán, Káshghar, Yángí Hissár, Yárkand and Khutan to go to the Khán of Khocand; *second*, the power to appoint in each of these towns an *Acsacál*,—"white-beard" or "elder" as commercial agent to collect these dues under a Khocand inspector to reside at Káshghar as political representative; and *third*, that all foreign Musalmáns residing in these towns were to be under the entire control of these agents. In return the Khocand Khán agreed to restrain the Khoja party and to prevent their invading the country, and to imprison any member attempting to do so.

The envoy on his return from Pekin, in 1832, was appointed Inspector at Káshghar on the part of Khocand, and, according to the Andijan custom, held the post on lease. His authority extended over the "six cities" to which the treaty regulations applied, and hence the country was called by the Andijan people *Alty Shahr*, or by a different reckoning (in which Marálbáshí belonging to Yárkand was counted separately) *Yatty Shahr* "seven cities." And this was the region in which Khocand influence was greatest, its effects being as yet barely perceptible in the eastern cities.

Thus were established trade and political relations between Western China and Khocand. Through them the Khocandi acquired an increasing influence in the country, and a firmer grasp on the sympathies of the people, in opposition to the rule of the Chinese, to whose prestige the revolts of Jahángír in 1826, and of Yúsf in 1830, coupled with the influence exercised by the proximity of the Russians, proved serious blows.

After reducing the Cará Cirghiz Muhammad Ali Khán extended his frontiers, and in 1832 built the Kurtka Fort on the Nárín and that of Tásh Corghan on the Pámir border, and he held besides nearly a fourth of the population of these towns under the rule of his agents. To keep this power, it was his interest to restrain the Khojas, and he consequently strictly watched their movements.

Until 1846 the country enjoyed peace under the just and liberal rule of Zuhúrdín the Governor on the part of the Chinese. He appears to have been a native of Káshghar, and to have emigrated to Khocand in 1830. From this he went to Petropawlovsk and Kazán, and returned thence by Semipalatinsk to Ghúlja where he represented to the Chinese Governor that he had escaped from prison at Khocand. He was, in consequence, taken into favour and appointed *Ishikághá*, or "Mayor" of Káshghar, and gradually rose to the post of *Hákim Beg*, or *Sol Ambán* as he is styled in the inscription over the gate of Káshghar, of which, in 1255H. (1839 A. D.), he restored the fortifications and built the palace. During his rule were erected the new Chinese forts, called *Mángshín* or *Yángíshahr*, outside each of the towns of this country, for the accommodation of the Chinese garrisons and arsenals, instead of the former citadels, called *Gulbágh*, which were destroyed by the rebels.

In 1845, on the accession of Khudáyár Khán to the throne of Khocand, the relations with Káshghar were violated by marauding bands of Andijání and Cirghiz; and the Khojas, taking advantage of the anarchy on all sides, and the internal strife distracting parties in Khocand, banded together and collecting a small force invaded Káshghar in the autumn of 1263 H. (1846 A. D.), and laid siege to the city and the Chinese *Mángshín*, four miles to the south. The city held out for thirteen days under its Governor, Cásim Beg who, on its surrender to the enemy through the treachery of the citizens, then fled out by the Tuman River gate and effected his escape to the Chinese fort. P.

This invasion is known as the revolt of the *Haft Khojagán*, or "Seven Khojas," as it was conducted by that number of the members of the Afác family. The eldest of these was Eshan Khán Khoja, commonly called Katta Tora, "Great Lord;" and amongst the others were Buzurg Khán, Walí Khán, Kichik Khán, and Tawakkul Khán, all of whom subsequently figured in the conquest of the country by Yacúb Beg Atálik Ghází.

Katta Tora now assumed the government in Káshghar, and appointed the others to the surrounding towns and settlements. Here these worthies pillaged the houses of the government officials appointed by the Chinese, and, seizing their wives and daughters to stock their harems, at once abandoned themselves to a course of unbridled licentiousness and debauchery; their troops the while besieging the Chinese garrison shut up in the *Mángshín*.

Their reign of oppression, however, did not last long, for in seventy-five days after the fall of the city, about November, the *Jáng Júng* of Ila, the *Jáng Júng* of Orúmchí and Changtáy, the *Dowáng* of Carásháhr, and the *Dowáng* of the Calmác, each having collected his troops of Mánchú, Túrgút, Sibo and Solon, amounting to 12,000 men, including 3,000 *Champan*, or "criminal exiles" marked with a scar on the left cheek, arrived at Marálbáshi to quell the revolt. On this Katta Tora set out from the capital to secure Yárkand, but was intercepted and brought to action by the Chinese at Kok Rabát. After a fight of two hours his army was routed, and he fled back to Káshghar; but here the citizens having had enough of his rule, and disgusted at the Khoja licentiousness and the oppression of the Andijan soldiers, closed the gates against him; and he and his *confrères* escaped back to Khocand with only a few followers, carrying with them the curses and jeers of those they left behind.

The Chinese again took possession of the city without opposition, and restoring order dismissed the Ambán and Kho Dárin who held the *Mángshín*; and Zuhúrúddín, the Musalmán governor of the district on the part of the Chinese, was similarly reduced for having allowed the city to fall into the hands of such a worthless crew; and their places were filled by new nominees. The *Jáng Júng* of Ila then executed a number of principal men who had joined in the Khoja revolt, and slew many of the people in revenge for the massacre of the Chinese traders and settlers in the city, and finally, after reinforcing the several garrisons, returned to his own government.

On the re-establishment of the Chinese rule, the former trade and political relations with Khocand were at once renewed; and Khudáyár Khán appointed as his representative at Káshghar an active partizan, Núr Muhammad Khán, who had already given proof of his devotion to the Khoja cause by delivering the city over to them in the recent revolt. And he now protected the Andijání residents, and fostered the Khoja influence. During his tenure of office the Andijan element acquired a considerable numerical accession by new immigrants from Khocand, who were encouraged to buy land, marry, and settle in the country. With this increase to the strength of their foreign supporters, the Musalmán population of the towns daily became more arrogant in their demands, and more independent in their bearing under the rule of their conquerors, till in another decade their restiveness under the Chinese yoke culminated in the last of the Khoja revolts under Walí Khán in 1857. M.V.

P. The explanation of these successive Khoja revolts under Jahángír in 1825, under Yúsuf in 1830, under Katta Tora in 1846, and under Walí Khán in 1857, is not difficult if we consider the claims of their family and the nature of the tenure of the country by the Chinese. As to the first, the preceding pages will have illustrated the character of the Khoja government in the country from the date of its first establishment by Khoja Afác; their rule, it will be remembered, was in subordination to the authority first of the *Ghaldan* of Zúngghár, and then of the Emperor of China, and was characterized by mutual jealousies and party rivalries, and by a persistent hostility to the paramount power. Whilst as to the second, the Chinese, as has been mentioned, held the country by a mere military occupation for the maintenance of order, the realization of revenue and the protection of trade. Their garrisons were located in forts outside the several towns they commanded, and their troops were kept quite distinct from the Musalmán population inside the walls. Whilst the Chinese merchants and traders, and others following in the wake of the relieving troops came and went, or settled and traded, and worked in the market suburbs that sprang up between the forts and the cities; only a small proportion of them took up quarters amongst the Musalmán residents within the walls, and their numbers amongst the peasantry were even still less. The internal government of the Musalmán population not under the Khocand agents, both in the cities and rural districts, was everywhere conducted according to the *shariat* by Musalmán officials appointed by the Chinese Viceroy, and wearing Chinese uniforms and emblems, jointly with officers of his own nation to whom they were subordinate.

P. The clashing of rival interests produced by this three-fold system of government,—*viz.*, the Khocand agency, the *shariat* for the Musalmáns, and Chinese law for the traders and settlers of that empire,—the venality of the officials of all three classes, coupled with the general laxity of morals and the neglect of their religious ordinances by the Musalmáns now no longer awed by the dictation of an arrogant priesthood, soon led to grave discontent amongst the influential classes of the Muhammadan population, especially those under Khocand rule. And this state of affairs, coupled with the blow given to the Chinese prestige by the establishment of the Russians at Almátí or Fort Vernoe in 1853, encouraged them once more to try and cast off the foreign yoke. Intrigues with the Khoja party in Khocand had from the commencement of the new rule been a dangerous feature in the political relations of this Chinese province with that Muhammadan State, and the opportunity now promising success they were renewed with a redoubled energy through emissaries inviting the Khojas to come and resume the possessions of their ancestors, and assuring them of the support of the population.

M.V. Consequently, during 1855-56 A. D., Walí Khán Khoja and his brother Kichik Khán made several attempts to invade Káshghar, but on each occasion were repulsed at the frontier pickets owing to their numerical weakness. In the spring of 1857, however, Walí Khán, after performing the prayers of the *Ramazán'Id*, 16th May, set out from Khocand with seven Káshghar emissaries and a small band of trusty adherents to carry out a preconcerted enterprise against the Chinese.

They arrived at the Ocsálár Fort belonging to Khocand (on the Ush and Kashghar road) at night, and surprising the little garrison killed the commandant and won over the soldiers to join the Khoja. Some Káshghar troops who had been sent by Núr Muhammad, the Khocand agent there, to collect the revenue from the Chongbaghish Cirghiz, and who were then encamped in the vicinity, soon joined the adventurers, and brought with them a party of the tribes to swell the Khoja's force. At the same time some scouts sent out by the Chinese were captured and brought to Walí Khán who inaugurated his bloody career by at once striking off their heads with his own hand.

He then pushed on, and crossing the Cizilford surprised the picket there as they slumbered under the effects of their opium pipes, and slew every soul of them, and at dawn appeared before the *Cím Darwáza*, or "Sand Gate," on the south side of the city. He set fire to the gate, and, forcing through, rushed into the city,

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as the people were rousing from their sleep, with the cry of, "Welcome Buzurg Khán Tora!"—he was the only son of Jahángír, and one whom the people had been expecting as a deliverer. Núr Muhammad at once came forward to greet the Khoja with congratulations on his arrival, and delivering the city to him, installed him in the palace; whilst the citizens rising *en masse* hunted, plundered, and murdered the Chinese everywhere. In the confusion Ahmad Wáng, the Musalmán governor on the part of the Chinese, with a few others, escaped by the opposite gate and took refuge in the *Mángshín* or *Yángshahr* with the Chinese garrison.

Walí Khán inaugurated his rule in the city by appointing Andijan adherents to all the Government offices, and by executing a number of the Chinese officials and merchants who had flocked to him for protection from the mob; and by distributing their wives and daughters amongst his partizans, and confiscating their property to himself. The first to join his party were the Actaghluc Chiefs of Artosh and Beshkirim; and Mír Ahmad Shekh, of the former place, in proof of his devotion, gave his daughter in marriage to the Khoja.

Their example was followed by the chiefs of the surrounding settlements, and Walí Khán soon had a force of 20,000 men at his command. He pressed a number of Afghan traders whom he found in the city into his army, and set all the iron-smiths and tailors in the place to work in the manufacture of arms and uniforms for his troops. At the same time he employed many thousands of the people to dam the Cizil River at Pakhtaghlic and turn its stream against the Yángshahr Fort which was held by the Bádárín and Yehdárín, *Ambáns*, with 6,000 men.

Whilst thus employed at Káshghar he sent a force under Tilá Khán to seize Yángí Hissár and Yárkand. At the former the Chinese garrison shut themselves up in the fort, and Tilá Khán passing on invested Yárkand in June 1857. The Chinese issued from their fort to drive off the besiegers, but were defeated, and fled back to the shelter of their walls. The city meantime held out, though offering to surrender on the appearance of the Khoja himself, and Tilá Khán, after plundering the suburbs, retired on the approach of Chinese succour.

In seventy-seven days after the fall of Káshghar—August—a Chinese force of 12,000 men, with the *Ambáns Fákhyá* from Ila, Sháy Dárín from Orúmchí, Changtáy from Caráshahr, and others arrived at Marálbáshí to the relief of Yárkand.

Walí Khán sent out a force to intercept them, but it was defeated and driven back to Káshghar; and the Chinese advancing relieved Yárkand of the enemy. They halted here ten days to rest their men and settle the city, and then taking most of the Yárkand troops with them proceeded against Walí Khán at Káshghar. At Cizilí they were opposed by a force sent out by him to stop their advance, but immediately attacked and defeated it. The scattered troops, however, rallied and made a stand at Sugat Bulác "Willow Spring" to contest the passage to Yángí Hissár. But they were again defeated and put to flight, and the Chinese, carrying everything before them, at once pushed on and released the garrison shut up in Yángí Hissár.

They halted here four days, and then marched to recover Káshghar. But Walí Khán, now deserted by his chiefs and his army who were already disgusted at his licentiousness and terrified by his violent tempers and capricious judgments, fled from the city with only a few followers, without even waiting their arrival. He made good his escape to Darwáz, but was there made prisoner by the ruler, Isma'íl Sháh, and delivered up to Khudáyár Khán. And thus, after a rule of only a hundred and fifteen days, in September 1857 ended the last of the Khoja revolts under the most licentious tyrant and blood-thirsty maniac of that ambitious and selfish fraternity. In his short reign he committed more bloodshed, and more oppression, and more villany than either of his predecessors, from whom he only differed in the degree of his wickedness.

Walí Khán was a degraded debauchee, and was seldom free from the intoxication of his favourite drug—*shang*. His ruthless cruelties and capricious executions, his

P. thirst for blood and his unholy lusts soon rendered his rule intolerable, and awed even his most partial supporters into hatred. The pile of heads, to which in an unhappy moment was added that of the inoffensive scientific traveller, Adolphe Schlagentweit, raised by him on the river-bank above the Cizil Bridge for long months remained a mournful testimony of his savage cruelties; whilst the tales of his hellish barbarities are still fresh in the memory of a people for centuries accustomed to deaths and tortures in their worst forms.

On the flight of Walí Khán the Chinese recovered possession of Káshghar without opposition. The former officials, both Chinese and Khocandi, such as had escaped the clutches of Walí Khán, were dismissed and their offices given to others; whilst the leaders in the revolt were one by one captured and executed with tortures. Amongst the first was Mír Ahmad Shekh, the custodian of the Sátoc Bughra Khán shrine at Alton Artosh, for his active partizanship with the Khoja rebel. He was crimped from heel to head and disembowelled; and his heart plucked out, whilst yet beating with life, was thrown to the dogs. He was then decapitated, and his head exposed in a cage on the main road leading to the city, together with a long row of those of other victims of Chinese revenge. His eldest son, Mír Ali *Cází*, shared a similar fate; but three other sons, Abdurrahím, Isma'íl, and Mahmúd from whom I have derived the above particulars, escaped by the Kurtka Fort to Khocand.

Many other leading men were executed with like barbarity, and their heads similarly exposed for their part in the revolt; whilst hundreds of others perished in the revenge taken for the massacre of the Chinese merchants and settlers. These executions did not cease till August of the following year, when relations on the former footing were resumed with Khocand, and Khudáyár's agent arrived at Káshghar.

M. V. In the meantime Walí Khán on his return to Khocand was arraigned by the relatives of his victims for the murder of so many innocent Musalmáns. He was formally tried by the *Ulama*, "Doctors of the Law," and with characteristic partiality acquitted as being a *Sayyid* or descendant of the Prophet; whilst his accusers were even fined for daring to asperse the character of one boasting such honourable lineage. He, however, met his retribution at last, and was assassinated at Káshghar, the very scene of his crime, by the present ruler, Ya'cúb Beg, whom he accompanied in the party of Buzurg Khán, as will be mentioned hereafter.

In the spring of 1858, Khudáyár Khán sent Nasíruddín of Shahrikhan, who had acted in the same capacity in 1847, as envoy to Káshghar to renew relations with the Chinese, to express concern for the revolt, and to report the imprisonment of the notoriously free and favoured Walí Khán. The envoy arrived at Káshghar in August with a caravan of 500 returning fugitives, and the Chinese, at once granting the former concessions, accepted him as Khocand agent with the title of *Dádkhwáh*. And thus the former relations between these incompatible people were once more resumed.

P. In 1278 H. (1862 A. D.) after the establishment of the Russian rule on the northern frontier of Káshghar, by their capture of the forts of Tokmak and Piskak which they took in August 1860, and on the eve of the Tungani revolt in Shensi, one other minor disturbance occurred in Káshghar before the final revolution that led to the severance of the whole province from its connection with the Chinese empire. The three refugee sons of Mír Ahmad Shekh returned in this year from their asylum at Tashkand with a gathering of 300 men to recover their ancient patrimony in Artosh by the aid of the border Cirghiz who were their hereditary subjects.

Near Káshghar they fell in with a caravan of Chinese merchants, and plundering it killed seventeen of the traders in revenge of the death of their father. They then went on to Artosh where they raised the standard of revolt. On this a force of 2,000 Chinese infantry from the *Mángshín* and 1,000 cavalry from the city was sent out against them by the *Ambán*. The brothers were deserted by their rabble crew in the first skirmish with the enemy, and themselves fled the field as fast as any of them

They were pursued and overtaken in the Arghú Valley adjoining Artosh. Here Abdurrahím and several of his men were captured and taken prisoners to the Ambán, but the rest escaped into the hills and ultimately returned to Tashkand. Abdurrahím was kept in prison pending reference to the Viceroy at Ila; and after some months, orders arriving from Pekin, he was publicly executed.

Next followed the Tungani mutiny, and the invasion by Buzurg Khán Khoja, and the final conquest of the country by his General the *Coshbegi* Ya'cúb Beg, Atálik Ghází, and now the Amír Muhammad Ya'cúb Khán. To understand these revolutions aright, and to appreciate the differences that mark the character and exciting causes of this last from the previous revolts in this country, it is necessary to go back and review the history of the Khocand State in regard to its political relations with this western province of the Chinese empire, and to note the important fact that, though each and all of these revolts arose from one common source in the impatient ambition of Islam, this last revolution sprang from the eastward as the act of a nation or whole people for the supremacy of their religion; whilst its several predecessors originated as the work of a single ambitious family, or of private individuals for their personal interests, in the adjoining western state of Khocand which, again, has finally interposed to replace the Muhammadan Chinese rule as represented by the Tungani rebels by the usurped authority of its own adventurers.

This last revolution in fact, the description of which is to come, in contradistinction to all the previous revolts, was an outbreak amongst the Chinese themselves. It was Chinese destroying Chinese, the Muhammadan Tungani against the Búdhist Khitay. In the midst of their contention the old Khoja claim was revived, but, as the Tungani had never been their partizans, it was nowhere supported, and hence the success of Ya'cúb Beg in the confusion of rival interests distracting the country: a success to which the presence of the Russians on the northern frontier was not without effect in determining the course of events.

The province of Farghána, Andijan, or Khocand, as it is indifferently called, was during the rule of the Mughol Kháns a more or less independent principality, mostly in alliance with Bukhárá, under the rule of princes of the Tymúr dynasty. After the defeat of Babur, whose father, Umar Shekh, was its ruler, the province fell into the possession of the Uzbek, Sháhibeg Khán or Shaibán, in whose time from Osh to Khojand was the country of Yúnus Khán. His sons, with the aid of the Cirghiz and Capchác, drove out the usurper Tanbal, and then warred with the Uzbek for possession of all the lands on the banks of the Syhon or Jazartes, claiming these Turkistan lands as the descendants and heirs of Caidú.

On the decline of their dynasty, during the reign of Rashíd Sultán of Káshghar, the power of the Mughol Kháns succumbed to that of the Uzbek, and was shortly after usurped by the Khoja pretenders. In the anarchy characterizing the last years of the long reign of Abdúlla, and the few months of that of his son and successor, Abdúl Momin, with whose death in 1597 A. D. the Shaibání dynasty ended, the province of Farghána recovered its independence under local chiefs; and maintained it more or less continuously during the disordered reigns of princes of the Ashtarkhán dynasty which ended with Abúl Fyz who, shortly after his surrender to Nádir in September 1870, was murdered together with his son by his own *wasír*, Rahím Báý of the Manghit tribe, who then usurped the government and founded the existing dynasty of Bukhárá.

I have not met with any published account of the history of Andijan during this period of turmoil marking the decline of the Ashtar Khán dynasty, in which it appears the province regained independence under a local chief who founded the power of the present ruling family there. Whilst at Káshghar, I obtained a manuscript account of the conquest of the country by Ya'cúb Beg, Atálik Ghází, written for me by his General Abdúlla, *Amírilashkar*, who was a principal actor in the events he describes. He was the most trusted and most active of Ya'cúb Beg's adherents, and joining him at the outset, served him faithfully and well till incapacitated by an

V. B.

P.

P. incurable affliction. His impetuous bravery and ferocity in battle soon gained him the reputation of a successful soldier, and he rose to the rank of *Amírilashbar*, "Commander of an Army" or General, before he was obliged to retire from active service to the unemployed rank of *Pansaddi*, "Commander of 500." He is said to have killed with his own hands full 10,000 of the enemy—men, women and children—during the six years of war, and was struck blind, even his admirers admit, by the direct act of God to prevent his destroying more of His innocent creatures.

In the introductory pages of this little book, which is entitled chronographically as well as significantly, *Tárikhi Sighár*, "Little History" 1290 H (1873-74 A. D.), is a brief notice of the rise and progress of the present ruling family of Khocand. From this, with other published data and personal enquiries on the spot (Káshghar), I am enabled to compile the following account :

T.S. In 1104 H (1692 A. D.) there resided in the suburbs of Khocand two Capchác brothers, originally of Changíz descent, named Culún BÍ and Chamách BÍ. They were disciples of Mauláná Lutfulla of Chust, which is seven *farsakh* off across the River Syhon; and they used daily to cross the river together to supply the venerated divine with curds and cream. The divine always favoured the elder brother, Culún BÍ; but one day as they went to him with their daily offering they were attacked by a party of Manghít robbers who relieved Culún of his load. In the struggle Chamách escaped to Chust with his portion of the curds and cream.

Lutfulla on learning the cause of the other's absence, for being empty-handed after escape from his despoilers he returned home, told the younger brother that it was his fortune to gain his blessing; and forthwith stretching his hands to heaven the Saint prayed, "Oh God! grant that the children of Chamách BÍ become kings, and those of Culún BÍ, ministers. And grant, Oh God! that the children of Manghít, "exceeding forty, be born blind."

Chamách BÍ died in Khocand, and left a son named Rahím BÍ who became king. On his death his son Erdáná (Edenia or Adania) succeeded to the throne. He conquered Carátakin and Darwáz and Pámir to Wakhán, and in 1758 A. D. acknowledged the protectorate of the Chinese empire bordering on his eastern frontier. He left two sons, Muhammad Amín and Sháhrúkh, of whom the first and eldest succeeded to the throne. He soon died, and left two sons, Nárbotá Beg and Hájí Beg. Nárbotá Beg succeeded, and he, too, acknowledged the protectorate of China, and sent his brother Hájí Beg out of the way on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return thence he married a Khocand lady, who bore him a son named Beg Oghaly. Afterwards he took a second wife, the daughter of a chief of the Cochcár Júmghál Cirghiz, and she bore him a son named Sher Ali. Nárbotá Beg left two sons, Alím Beg and Umar Beg, of whom the former succeeded to the Khání.

Culún BÍ left a son, Ernazar Mirzá, who was *Begibásh*, or "Commander-in-Chief," in the time of Rahím BÍ, and was noted for his bravery and exploits. He died a natural death, and left a son named Abdurrahmán Mirzá. He succeeded as *Begibásh*, and soon acquired a reputation eclipsing that of his father. He captured Gharmsarán and Namangán from the Khoja rulers, and wrested Marghinán from the Uzbek possessors. He conquered the districts of Isfár and Chárkoh held by Zumurrud Sháh, and drove the Mírs from Orátappa. He also captured Khujand, and built the frontier forts of Sháhrúkhyá and Kíláochí. All these enterprises he carried out as the *Begibásh* of Erdáná BÍ, in whose reign the whole province was consolidated under one rule. After this he raised a large army in Khujand, and passing Jizzác laid siege to Samarcand for twenty-eight days, when he retired on the payment of a yearly tribute of one *puá* of gold by the Bukhára King, Sháh Murád BÍ, and carried away with him the Carácalpác families found there.

Whilst he was engaged on this expedition, Awlay Khán, the Governor of Tashkand, raided Gharmsarán and Namangán, and was returning with his plunder, when Abdurrahmán giving chase overtook him at Toetappa, and recovered the booty and captives. He sent these to Nárbotá at Khocand, and himself returned by

Kiláochi to Khujand to protect that frontier. Awlay Khán died at Táshkand a month after this defeat, and Yúnus Khoja, a descendant of the Khálif Umar, then became Khán in his place. Three months later, in 1214 H. (1799 A. D.) Nárbotá Beg died, and was succeeded by his son Alím Khán. At this time Abdurrahmán was lying paralytic at Khujand, and his son Abdúlla Mirzá became *Coshbegi* with the new Khán; but Alím, jealous of the great influence he had acquired and dreading his rivalry, had the infirm old man brought to him at the capital, and executed him at the Khoja Turáb *Mazár*, a shrine two *farsakh* from the city.

Alím had reigned eight years when, in 1222 H. (1806 A. D.), he went against Yúnus at Táshkand and took the city. In the assault Abdúlla *Coshbegi* was wounded, and after a month died from the effects of the injury. His son, Rahmán Culi Mirzá, succeeded as *Coshbegi* "Lord of the family," or "Controller of the household." Alím Khán stayed a year at Táshkand to settle the country, and then appointing his own governors returned to the capital.

Two years later, however, he was recalled by disturbances there, and leaving his brother Umar in charge of Khocand hurried off with a large army to Táshkand. He was detained here a year in quelling the revolt, and finally quieted the country by many executions and severe punishments. Owing to his cruelties the chief people fled from the city, and joining Umar at Khocand set him on the throne as Khán. On this Alím set out to recover his capital, but was encountered at Tocsán Cávún by the rebel chiefs who seized and executed him, 1226 H. (1810 A. D.).

Umar Khán now ascended the throne in his own right. He had a troubled reign of twelve years, and died in 1238 H. (1822 A. D.) and was succeeded by his eldest son, Muhammad Ali Khán. On his accession to the throne Jahángír Khoja fled from Khocand and, joining the Cirghiz, raised them to hostility against the Chinese at Káshghar, and in 1825 with them seized the country. Muhammad Ali Khán joined him there in June of the following year to secure the conquest for himself, but, being coldly received and losing many men in the siege of the Chinese citadel, he hastily retreated to his capital.

Four years later he sent his General Hacc Culi Beg, with Yúsuf Khoja and a strong army, to avenge the defeat of Jahángír and annex Káshghar to his own dominions. His activity in this direction excited the jealousy of Nasrulla or Bahádúr Khán, the Amír of Bukhárá, who marched against him. Consequently Muhammad Ali Khán, in the end of 1830, recalled his General from Káshghar after he had been there only three months, and the Khoja returned with him just as the Chinese reinforcements arrived to recover the place.

Muhammad Ali Khán reigned successfully for nineteen years, and was the most powerful of all the Khocand Kháns. The states of Khutan, Yárkand, Káshghar, Uch Turfan, and Acsú, though in the possession of the Chinese, paid the *zakát* collected from Musalmán merchants to him, and he appointed his own agents in these towns for the realization of these dues, and for the protection of the interests of the Musalmáns. The Jattah country of Zúnghár up to Ila, and the whole of Mugholistan up to Cizil Jár also paid *zakát* to him. In the direction of Organj he annexed Acmasjid and Kumosh Corghán, and in that of Bukhárá all the country up to two *farsakh* of Jizzác acknowledged his rule.

Sa'íd, the Amír Hydar of Bukhárá, died in the second year of his reign, in 1240 H. (1824 A. D.), and was succeeded by his son Amír Nasrulla, called Bahádúr Khán. On his accession to the throne Muhammad Ali Khán sent his *Coshbegi*, Azim Báý, to him with messages of condolence and congratulation. The new Amír acknowledged Muhammad Ali as his elder brother, and with his envoy returning to Khocand sent his own ambassador and rich presents; other envoys went and came, and a treaty of perpetual friendship between the two states was concluded. It was after this that Muhammad Ali, in 1827, undertook his campaign against the Cirghiz; and in the succeeding years made tributary all the Zúnghár country and the western cities of Káshghar, held by the Chinese, up to Acsú inclusive.

T.S. Later he destroyed the frontier fort of Peshágir, built by the Khocandis in 1819, and erected the fort of Curamma at two *farsakh* from Jizzác, and placing his own garrison in it under *Mingbáshi* Gadáy Báý took up his residence at Orátappa where he devoted himself to wine and women.

Bahádúr Khán now jealous of his growing power, and incensed by his encroachment upon the Bukhárá frontier, in 1839 took the field and marched against the new Curamma Fort. Gadáy Báý held out for fifteen days, and then, abandoning his charge, fled and joined his master at Orátappa. Muhammad Ali Khán, now roused from his pleasures by alarm for his throne, at once marched against the enemy, and camping at a *farsakh* from the fort, in a fit of boldness inspired by an extra dose of *bhang*, came out and challenged Bahádúr Khán to meet him in single combat. His nobles, however, intervening with professions of devotion to his service and person, persuaded him to retire, and the would-be champion, on recovery from his intoxication, being seized by sudden misgivings as to the loyalty of his nobles, abruptly quitted his army, and with only fifty followers fled to Khocand, which he reached in eight days. His army fought for three days and then followed the example of their Khán. Nasrulla pursued the fugitives, and captured the forts of Zamin and Orátappa, and planting his own garrisons in them returned to Bukhárá to watch the operations of the British army in Afghanistan.

On his departure Muhammad Ali Khán returned, and, driving out the Bukhárá troops, recovered Orátappa. But Nasrulla again took the field against him with a numerous army, and in the spring of the following year, 1840, defeated Muhammad Ali and dispersed his army. He followed up this victory by a succession of others, and between September and November annexed Curamma, Naó, Khujand, and Táshkand, and the country beyond up to the Dasht Capchac. He appointed his own governors in most of these places, but gave the government of Khujand to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, the brother and rival of Muhammad Ali Khán; and then fearful of the Russians who were pressing on the Jaxartes, and mistrustful of the British who held on at Kabul with Sháh Shuja-ul-Mulk, hastened back to Bukhárá where, during the preceding six years, he had received as envoys from Russia, Demaison in 1834, and Vitcovich in 1835; and as envoys from India, Stoddart in 1838, and Conolly in 1840, both of whom he at this time held prisoners, and both of whom he subsequently murdered—on the 17th June 1842.

V.B. On the departure of Nasrulla the two brothers immediately became reconciled, and revolted; consequently, again, in April 1841, Bahádúr Khán set out with a powerful army, breathing wrath and vowing the destruction of Khocand, which at this time was an open town without any fortified walls. Muhammad Ali Khán here held the enemy in check for seven days, and then fled with his family towards Marghinán. At Yacca Tút they were all seized by Mahmúd Khoja, the governor, and delivered over to Nasrulla by whom they were all immediately murdered. Thus perished in 1258 H (1841 A. D.) Muhammad Ali Khán, the most able and the most powerful of all the Khocand Kháns, his mother, his wives, his brother Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and his son Muhammad Amín Beg who was accused of incest with his mother. His other sons, Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Karím, Muhammad Rahím, Azím Beg, and Abdulla Mirzá, with many nobles and principal officers, were sent away prisoners to Bukhárá.

Satisfied with this extinction of the rival dynasty, Nasrulla spared Khocand the threat he vowed against it, and instead established Ibrahim Khvál, Manghít, formerly Governor of Marv, as his governor in it, with a considerable garrison in support. He then returned triumphant to his capital, more than ever puffed with pride, and more than ever abandoned to his brutish lusts and inhuman cruelties.

Two months after the departure of the Amír with his Bukhárá army, Musalmán Culi, Capchác, assembled the Cirghiz, Capchác, Uzbek, and Tájik chiefs, with their respective contingents, at Namangán, and by their consent set Sher Ali, the son of Hají Beg, up as Khán. On the accession of Alím Khán to the throne, he had

been sent out of the way to the Cirghiz, and was now willing to accept the vacant throne under the guidance of Musalmán Culi as his *wazír*. They, consequently, at once marched against Ibráhím Khiyál, and driving him out of Khocand set to work, and in forty days surrounded the city with fortified walls. Sher Ali now established himself in the citadel as Khán of Khocand with Musalmán Culi as *wazír*, and appointed his sons to the principal provincial governments. Thus Khudáyár got Namangán, Sarimsak got Marghinán, and Súfí Beg got Andijan, whilst Mallah Khán remained at court with his father. T.S.

Meanwhile Ibráhím Khiyál, who had been pursued to Káni Bádám, escaped to Bukhára, whence Nasrulla once more set out to recover his lost conquests. His grand preparations, fierce threats, and pompous boasts, however, did not avail him; for after a siege of sixty days, in which he lost many men by deaths and desertions, he was obliged to retire from Khocand unsuccessful. But his retreat did not restore peace to the country. The sons of the late Muhammad Ali Khán, whom he had left in prison at Bukhára, escaped from their durance during his absence on this campaign, and returning to Khocand immediately raised a tumult in favour of their prior rights to the government.

Sher Ali did his utmost to appease them, and appointed Muhammad Karím, the most active and ambitious of them, as *Hudaychi*, or "Chamberlain," in his own court. He at once made use of his position to usurp the rule for himself, and by his overbearing conduct quickly made an enemy of the *wazír*, Musalmán Culi, who carried off Khudáyár, and fled with him to the mountains. There he raised a party of his own Capchac and the Cirghiz, and descending upon Khocand seized and executed Muhammad Karím with a number of his partizans, and re-established Sher Ali as the Khán, with himself as *wazír* as before.

On this Sarimsak, with the support of Alím Beg and Sayyid Beg, *Dádkhwáhs*, and a party of Cirghiz, rebelled at Ush or Osh. Musalmán Culi forthwith went against them, and defeating their troops at Mádí, captured and executed Sarimsak. Whilst Musalmán Culi was thus engaged in the east of the province, Murád Khán, son of Alím Khán, had come with aid from Bukhára to Uthmaní on the west of it, and thence seizing Khocand had killed Sher Ali Khán after he had reigned three years. The Capchac and Uzbek now combined and set up Khudáyár, aged fifteen years, as Khán with Musalmán Culi as his *wazír*, and recovering Khocand executed Murad Khán after he had ruled only three weeks. Musalmán Culi, the king-maker, now took all the power into his own hands, the youthful Khudáyár being a mere puppet on his accession to the throne in 1845.

In the time of Muhammad Ali Khán, the command of the Acmasjid Fort was given to Muhammad Ali Beg of Marghinán with a garrison of 500 men, and he continued to hold the post under the rule of Khudáyár till he was killed in its defence against the Russians in July 1852. At this time Nar or Nazar Muhammad of Carású near Osh was the Governor of Táshkand for Khudáyár. He had given a sister in marriage to Ya'cúb Beg of Piskat in the suburbs, and now, through his influence with Musalmán Culi, got his brother-in-law appointed to the charge of the Acmasjid Fort with the rank of *Coshbegí*. Ya'cúb Beg held the post for a year till its capture by the Russians in August 1853. In the December following his expulsion from Acmasjid, Ya'cúb Beg set out from Táshkand with Súfí Beg, the brother of Khudáyár Khan, and a force of 600 horse to recover the fort, but they were all put to flight in the very first encounter. In the following April 1854, Khudáyár himself prepared to march against Acmasjid, but was diverted from his purpose by an inopportune attack on his frontier by Nasrulla Khán.

Khudáyár had for long been impatient of the power and control of his *wazír*, and now in 1855, having staved off the hostility of Bukhára, he determined to get rid of his obnoxious minister; and to this end instigated a number of his nobles

T.S. whose jealousy and hatred of Musalmán Culi were well known to him. A party of twenty of them leagued together to carry out the Khán's and their own wishes. They seized the *wazír* one morning as he came to the court for the usual salutation, and hurrying him off to the execution square there "spread-eagled" him on a board, and so left him for three days to the insults and jeers of a rabble of hired ruffians, and then gibbeted him on the gallows hard by. And such was the recompense the "king-maker" Capchác received for setting Khudáyár Khán on the throne, and for having ruled the country for thirteen years with more moderation and justice than any of the legitimate Kháns had shown themselves capable of.

Khudáyár now took the reins of government into his own hands, and, amongst other changes appointed *Coshbegi* Ya'cúb Beg to the charge of the Kiláochi Fort and made some ineffectual attempts to recover the Acmasjid Fort from the Russian grasp. Whilst absent on one of these expeditions his elder brother, Mallah Khán, with the aid of the Capchác and Cirghiz, captured Khocand after a siege of seventeen days, and was immediately joined by most of the nobles.

Khudáyár and a younger brother, Sultán Murád, on this retired to Bukhárá for asylum and aid; whilst Mallah Khán, establishing himself at the capital, posted his own governors over the country. Thus he sent Súfi Beg to Namangán, Hasan Beg to Marghinán, Alím Beg to Andijan, Isrár Culi to Chamyan, Muhammad Músá to Táshkand, Sayyid Beg to Khujand, and Ya'cúb Beg, *Coshbegi*, he raised to the rank of *Shagháwul*, or "Foreign Minister," and appointed to the charge of the fort of Curamma. Alím Culi he appointed as his own *Zinbardár*, or "Equerry," and Khadír and Beg Muhammad each as *Hudáychi*, or "Court Chamberlain," and Caná'at Sháh he kept at Khocand as his *Náib*, or "Deputy Governor," and subsequently sent him to Táshkand to watch the Russian movements in the direction of Hazrat Sultán Turkistán.

In the commotion and excitement following the murder of Musalmán Culi the Khoja Walí Khán, *Tora*, set out from Khocand on his expedition against Káshghar. Whilst he was perpetrating his barbarities there the Cirghiz and Capchác in Khocand rose in revolt under the lead of Alím Culi, and killing Mallah Khán set Sháh Murád, a grandson of Sher Ali, on the throne. Khudáyár on this advanced from Jizzác with a Bukhárá force and seized Táshkand, where Caná'at Sháh and Ya'cúb Beg, *Shagháwul* of Curamma (he had been associated with the other to watch the Russians) surrendered the city, and, joining him, set him on the throne there as Khán. For this service Ya'cúb Beg was again taken into favour by Khudáyár Khán and re-appointed to his former office of *Coshbegi*.

Meanwhile Sháh Murád, who had been put on the throne by Alím Culi, Capchác, set out with him as *Amírilashkar* against Táshkand. On their arrival Ya'cúb Beg, *Coshbegi*, joined the Capchác leader, and they both retired to Curamma, the fort of the former. Here they increased and fully equipped their army, and then returned and besieged Táshkand. After a month of close investment and desultory skirmishing, finding their troops disheartened and beginning to desert, they raised the siege and withdrew to Khocand, whence Alím Culi sent Ya'cúb Beg as Governor to Khujand.

Khudáyár, having in the meantime summoned the aid of the Bukhárá Amír, now marched against Khujand with the Bukhárá army under Muzaffar-ud-dín himself who in the previous year, 1860, had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Nasrulla, and now joined him on the banks of the river. Ya'cúb Beg surrendered the fort, and Khudáyár sent him away under surveillance with the army returning to Bukhárá with the Amír, and then went on with a detachment of it to be set on the throne for the second time at Khocand.

The Bukhárá army took the city after a siege of ten days, when Alím Culi escaped to Carású, and Sháh Murád Khán to his uncle amongst the Cirghiz in the hills. Khudáyár now took possession of his old quarters in the citadel, and sent

Suliman Khoja, the *Shekhulislám* or "high priest" of Khocand, to re-assure and conciliate Alím Culi and bring him in on a promise of pardon and kind treatment. But the wily and rough Capchác refused to trust the "high priest's" promises, and turned a deaf ear to his honied words of persuasion; and Khudáyár in consequence sent a force to coerce him under Mullá Sultán as commander. He seized Andijan and detached Abdullá *Pánsad* (the author of the work I quote) to secure Shahrikhán whilst he fortified his own position. But on the third night Alím Culi took the fort by surprise and killed nearly a thousand of the Cirghiz and Capchác, whilst Mullá Sultán escaped on foot and in disguise to Shahrikhan. T.S.

Khudayar immediately took the field to retrieve this disaster, but on arrival at Caráwultappa he mistrusted his Cirghiz and Capchác, and consequently sent 3,000 of them back to Khocand. He then advanced by Carájighda and Marghinán to Yacca Tút, where he was joined by Mullá Sultán and Abdulla with their diminished force. Alím Culi in this interval had left Andijan and taken up a position at Aska, and Khudáyár, learning this from his scouts, left his main army standing, and with a small force advanced to attack him at Cabá Shor; but he was forestalled by his adversary who fell upon him with his whole force as he reached the ground. A severe fight followed, and lasted till sunset, with great loss on both sides.

Sultán Murád, the brother of Khudáyár, fled the field and took the road to the capital, but was stopped by the army left at Yacca Tút; and the Khán, unable to follow his example, set to work and fortified his position with carts and camp equipage for the night. He was here besieged for three days when Alím Culi, failing to force his defences with his few men, retired to Marghinán to collect his Capchác from the hills; and Khudáyár thus set free seized the opportunity and hurried back to Yacca Tút where he halted four days, and sent off messengers reporting a great victory and the flight of the enemy, for the satisfaction of his party at Khocand.

His couriers had no sooner started, however, than Alím Culi re-appeared with a fresh army and besieged Khudáyár in his camp for forty days, and then making a dash at Khocand seized the city; here the priests and chief citizens coming out with *curáns* borne on their heads welcomed his arrival and set him on the throne as Khán.

Khudáyár now in turn resumed the offensive, and following the usurper attacked him in the capital; and here all the people again turned back to the side of their lawful chief. Alím Culi, unable to hold the place against such a combination, quitted the city taking with him seventeen cannons he found in it, and continued the war by besieging Andijan, which had been re-occupied on the part of Khudáyár by Cádír Culi Beg. He held out eight days, and then surrendering the place joined the Capchác leader who with his new ally then attacked Marghinán held by Mullá Sultán. He was killed in a sortie, and his *Mingbáshí*, Mirzá Ahmad, then abandoning the fort fled to Khocand. Alím Culi secured the place with a garrison and then went in pursuit of the fugitive.

In this interim Khudáyár had sent his sister as wife to the Bukhárá Amír with envoys to seek his aid. Muzaffaruddín married the lady, and then in 1863 set out with a large army to the support of his new brother-in-law who was now hard-pressed by Alím Culi besieging the capital, when the relieving army opportunely arrived at Khujand. Alím Culi's outpost pickets being driven in by the advancing army, he raised the siege and retired to Dormánja to watch events, but finding that the Bukhárá army had entered Khocand he set out on the third day and retreated to Carású.

After a week's delay Khudáyár took the field in pursuit of the enemy, and his ally of Bukhárá followed a march in rear. Alím Culi was defeated at Carású and pursued to Uzkand, whence he entered the hills and fortified a very strong position in the Cará Khoja *Tar*, or "Defile." Khudáyár followed him, but, frightened by difficulties of the country, hastily retired from the hills, and joined his ally who was devastating the plain country. Muzaffaruddín, after a feast to celebrate their success

T.S. and meeting, was visited by a severe nightmare, and taking the dream as a bad omen, at once struck his camp and hastened back by Marghinán to Khocand whence, after a halt of fourteen days, he set out for his own capital, taking Sultán Murád with him. On the departure of this Bukhárá army, with which he had returned from his exile, Ya'cúb Beg *Coshbegi*, Bátor Culi *Shagháwul*, and Mirzá Ahmad *Coshbegi*, with several *Pánsad* officers and others, joined Alím Culi. On this Muzaffaruddín halted at Surkhsú, and sent Sultán Murád back to Khocand as Khán. But, as he could not hold the place, he left it after a week, and accompanied by Abdúlla *Pánsad* went to join Alím Culi. On arrival at Osh they were met by Tásh Khoja *Hudáychi* from Alím Culi, and he, according to his orders, killed Sultán Murád and took Abdúlla back with him to his master who robbed him and took him into his own service.

From Osh Alím Culi moved to Yár Mazár, and halting a week held a consultation with his adherents, and by their consent decided on bringing Sayyid Sultán Beg, the son of Mallah Khán, from Namangán and setting him up as Khán, with himself as his minister.

Sayyid Sultán, on assuming the government, sent Ya'cúb Beg as *Mír* to the Curamma Fort, and himself marched with Alím Culi to Khocand whence Khudáyár retreated to Jizzác. He here collected the relics of his deserted army, and from amongst their chiefs sent Ming Báý and Nar Muhammad *Lashkarbásh*, and several *Pánsad* officers, with a force to secure Khujand which, with the aid of Ya'cúb Beg from Curamma with his contingent, they took after a siege of ten days, the Governor Dost Muhammad, Carácalpác, escaping to Bukhárá. Alím Culi arrived there a few days later, and appointing Mirzá Ahmed *Coshbegi* to the government, set out for Táshkand by Curamma, where he was entertained by Ya'cúb Beg.

At Táshkand Alím Culi was the guest of the Governor Suliman Khoja, but suspecting his fidelity he killed him, and re-established Nar Muhammad, the brother-in-law of Ya'cúb Beg, in the government; he returned then to Khocand by Kiláochí, from which he summoned Ya'cúb Beg to join him, and sent Hydar Culi, Capchác, to take his place at Curamma.

Whilst these events were following one the other in Khocand, much more important changes were enacting in the countries bordering to the north and east. In the former direction the Russians were steadily pushing on from Uch Almá Atá or Almáti (or Fort Verne, as their great military post on the north of Isigh Kol is called). They took Awliyá Atá or Aulieta on the 16th June 1864, and Hazrat Turkistán on the 24th of the same month. From the latter the Governor, Mirzá Daulat, fled to Táshkand where he found Alím Culi with a large army busily fortifying the defences of the city, to which he had hastened on the first intelligence of the Russian advance.

From Táshkand Alím Culi advanced with a considerable force under Ming Báý *Lashkarbásh* to secure Chamkand, but he was met and attacked on arrival there by a Russian column from Turkistán; and after a severe encounter succeeded in driving them back. The Awliyá Atá column, however, coming up at this juncture joined that from Turkistán, and the combined Russian forces next day made an attack upon Chamkand. Alím Culi fought with his accustomed impetuosity and bravery, and forced the Russians to fall back upon Turkistán. He then put the defences of the place into repair, and leaving Mirzá Ahmad *Coshbegi* in its command with a strong garrison, hurried back to control affairs at Khocand, to recover which Khudáyár was intriguing.

Three months had hardly elapsed when news came that the Russians were again moving in great force against Chamkand. On this Alím Culi at once despatched Ya'cúb Beg *Coshbegi* to hold and strengthen the defences of Táshkand. On his arrival there, however, he was joined by Mirzá Ahmad just arrived from Chamkand, whence he had been driven by the Russians who took the place in the beginning of October 1864, and ten days later pushed on against Táshkand. As they approached

Ya'cúb Beg came out to oppose them with all his force. A severe fight took place in which the Russians lost 200 men killed, but they drove the Táshkand army back into their fort, and were then obliged themselves to retreat on the fourth day back to Chamkand. T.S.

Whilst this struggle was going on at the frontier, Alím Culí with Sayyid Sultán Khán and a large army was hurrying up from Khocand to the support of Táshkand, and on his arrival there rewarded the defenders and sent the heads of the Russians slain all over the country as trophies of their success against "the cursed Urús." He then set to work to improve the defences and dispose his troops on the fortification. Whilst he was thus engaged an envoy arrived from Sadíc Beg, Cirghiz of Káshghar, announcing the destruction of the Chinese rule there and the capture of the city by himself, and asking him to send a Khoja whom he might set on the throne as king of the country.

Alím Culí, in reply to this appeal, sent Buzurg Khán Khoja, the only son of Jáhangír Khoja, to recover the throne of his ancestors, and appointed Yacúb Beg *Coshbegi* to accompany him as *Bátúr-báshí* "Leader of the braves," or General of his forces, by way of securing his own interests and maintaining the Khocand influence in the Káshghar states.

Before following the Khoja, or *Tora* as he is usually styled, and his General in their career at Káshghar, it will be profitable first to trace out, most briefly though it be, that rapid succession of conquests and victories which in the course of a few short years have extended the Russian territory and rule from Almáti Vernoe on the north-east to the very gates of Bukhárá on the south-west; because this extension of Christian rule and civilized government over the Muhammadan and barbarous states of Central Asia, favoured in its success by the wild anarchy and savage despotism rampant in those very states, whilst opening out a bright future to these too-long benighted regions, has not been without an important influence on the Islám polity of not only Central Asia, but the whole Muhammadan world; for since the days of the Khálifs, Bukhárá, the *Cubbat-ulislam*, or "Centre Prop of the Faith," has always been considered the most sacred seat of its power and doctrine, and its decadence here during the past decade is already attended by signs of its revival elsewhere; in the prime seat in fact of its origin and growth. P.

After the retreat of the Russians from their unsuccessful attack against Táshkand in the latter days of October 1864, the Khocandi under Alím Culí were emboldened to assume the offensive, and early in December invested the village of Chilik which had been recently taken by them. A small party of Cossacks was sent to its relief from Turkistán, but on arrival at Aycán or Ikan was cut off from succour and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Khocandis who fought behind shields and moveable mantlets called *carábúra*. The devoted band fought with heroic bravery, and was nearly cut to pieces without inflicting much injury upon their assailants, and only a small remnant, fighting their way through, effected a safe return to Turkistan on the 18th December 1864. T.S. Rom.

With the first opening of spring the Russians again took the field to avenge this disaster to their arms, and on the 10th May 1865 General Chernayef took the fort of Nyázbeg, and on the 20th of the same month, in correspondence with a party in the city who had agreed to surrender the town, camped at eight *verst*, or about five miles from Táshkand; but Alím Culí with 6,000 men and 40 guns entering the city the same day the pre-arranged "*coup*" failed. Rom.

On the following morning Alím Culí with 40,000 men issued to destroy "the cursed Urús" who were only 4,000 strong. My informant, one who took an active part in the fight, described how the eager Khocandis swarmed to the promised destruction of their entrapped foe; how, surging in tumultuous crowds over the low ridges that broke the general level of the plain, they closed around the thick-set ranks of the enemy; how, as they pressed harder and nearer, the Russian priests raised aloft the effigy of their saint, and bare-headed prayed for his intercession and P.

aid ; and how the Russian General, taking off his hat, with earnest gesticulations and raised voice called on his men to fight bravely, and with their lives to maintain untarnished their proud name and the honour of their country. And he described how his master, Alím Culí, at this moment led a charge which was the signal for all the rest to fall on and annihilate their prey, when a few skirmishers thrown out brought him to a stop by a chance ball through his belly. His fall was followed by a short commotion, and his retreat from the field. The news was immediately spread through the assailing host, and as immediately its disorderly crowds turned and fled, each its own way ; and in less than an hour not a vestige remained of that vast multitude which, in the name of Islám, had come out to devour the "infidel Urús." And thus that brave band of Russians passed from the jaws of death to the security afforded by a complete victory, with the capture of 200 muskets taken and a loss of 300 men killed inflicted upon the retiring enemy.

The wounded Alím Culí was carried off the field by his Commandant of Artillery, one Nabbí Baksh, a native of Sialkot in the Panjáb, who, since the days of the Sikh campaign, had found a livelihood here in the courts of Bukhárá and Khocand successively. He now took his master up in his lap and galloped off the field as fast as his horse could carry the double load, leaving his guns and everything else to take care of themselves. Alím Culí died in Táshkand the same evening, and an assembly of the chiefs in consultation then decided on sending for aid to Bukhárá, and in the meantime to continue the defence under Mirzá Ahmad *Coshbegi*, and Atá Beg *Dádkhwáh* who was formerly the Governor of Piskak Fort when it was taken by the Russians in August 1860.

Rom. To intercept the aid summoned from Bukhárá, the Russians on the 29th May marched to Zinchata on the Bukhárá road and took possession of Chináz, whilst the Bukhárá army advancing to Samarcand occupied the frontier forts on the Syr Daryá (the Syhon or Jaxartes).

On this the Russians advanced against Táshkand and invested the city on three sides during the 18th-19th June. A couple of days later the Khocand Khán, Sultán Murád, with 200 followers quitted the city by night, and at the same time Iskandar Beg with a small Bukhárá force entered it. The Russians consequently stormed the town on the night of the 26th-27th June, and after a desperate resistance captured the city and during the next two days disarmed its people, 29th June 1865.

T.S. On the death of Alím Culí his chiefs, as above stated, held on in the fort, and by mutual consent sent the *Acsacál* of the city to Bukhárá for aid. The Amír Muzaffaruddín forthwith advanced to Samarcand, and sent off Allahyár Beg, Governor of Oratappa, and Sher Ali *Dádkhwáh* of Táshkand who was at the time with Khudáyár at Jizzác, to hold the place. On arrival at Táshkand they seized Sayyid Sultán Khán, the puppet of Alím Culí, and sent him off under escort to Muzaffaruddín who had by that time arrived at Jizzác. He kept Sayyid Sultán prisoner in his camp, and started off Khudáyár from his retreat there with an army to recover Khocand. He was welcomed at Náo by the Governor, Múlán *Dádkhwáh*, who surrendered the fort to him ; and Khudáyár, securing it with a garrison of his own, went on to Khujand where the people hailed his return with joy, and installed him in the citadel ; where Khudáyár at once set to fortify himself.

Meanwhile the usurpers in Khocand had set up Khudá Culí Beg, the son of Macsúd Beg who was the uncle of Sher Ali Khán, as Khán of the Cirghiz and Capchác. Khudáyár consequently invoked the aid of Muzaffaruddín who at once marched from Jizzác to Khujand, where he was joined by Sultán Murád fleeing from Táshkand. He detained Murád as a prisoner, and sent Khudáyár with an army against the rebels. On his arrival at Besharic, Khudá Culí with his Capchác and Cirghiz fled to Marghinán, and Khudáyár taking possession of Khocand called up the Amír of Bukhárá to hold it while he went in pursuit of the fugitives.

As he set out from the capital the rebels retired to Mádí beyond Osh, and there held fast. Khudáyár advanced against them, and defeating their outpost of a

thousand men at Achí, captured all their chiefs, except Abdurrahmán Cirghiz and Isrár Culi Capchác, who escaped with their followers and joined Khudá Culi at Mádí. Here Beg Muhammad *Mingbáshé*, Mirzá Ahmad *Dastúrkhwánché*, Sayyid Beg Capchác, Sadíc Beg Cirghiz, and the Khoja brothers, Eshán Khán *Tora*, Walí Khán *Tora*, and Kichik Khán *Tora*, with a number of others, held a consultation, and decided on retiring with their artillery by way of Casfán Kol to Gulsha, and there holding out and barricading the approaches. From this, as will be seen in the sequel, they all joined Ya'cúb Beg at Káshghar. S. T.

Meanwhile Khudáyár at Osh wrote as an humble servant to Muzaffaruddín, reporting the aspect of affairs and awaiting orders. The Bukhárá Amír, uneasy at the proximity of the Russians and unwilling to be embroiled in the troubles of his neighbour, summoned Khudáyár back to Khocand, and setting him in the government there, returned to his capital by Khujand, whence he sent a minatory message to the Russian General at Tashkand demanding his evacuation of the city and retreat to Chamkand.

But the Russian General, on the contrary, with the consent of an influential party of the citizens, who on the 30th September presented him with an address of congratulation and an appeal to be taken under the protection of the Ac Pádsháh or Czár, annexed the whole territory of Táshkand to Russia for ever. Its limits are on the east Isigh Kol—"Hot Lake," and Uch Corghán—"Three Forts" to the Syr Daryá or Jaxartes; on the north, the same from Ila to Acmasjid and Fort Raim; on the west, from the beginning to the end of the Syr Daryá with its left bank and fort of Chárdarra; and on the south, the same extent along the Syr Daryá from beginning to end. Rom.

Following this, in January 1866 came General Chernayeff's unsuccessful expedition as far as Jizzác to release the Russian envoys detained at Bukhárá, and his retreat to the Syr Daryá below Chirchik. The rupture, accelerated by this hostile conduct of the Amír Muzaffaruddín, led to the advance of the Russians under General Romanoffski who, on the 20th May 1866, exactly a year after the defeat and death of Alim Culi, gained his signal victory over the whole Bukhárá host at the famous battle of Irjár; when he put the Amír to flight, routed his army in disorder, and captured all his camp and equipage.

Following up this success, the Russians next bombarded Khujand and captured it on the 5th June. And so great was the immediate effect of their triumphs, that Khudáyár voluntarily congratulated their General on the success of his arms, and declared himself the friend and ally of Russia. Orátappa and Jizzác were taken in the October following, and a treaty of friendship and protection was concluded with Khudáyár; whilst Muzaffaruddín was warned to prepare for war, unless he restored the refugee Sultán Murád, paid one hundred thousand *tilá* = six hundred thousand rupees (counting the *tilá* at six) as war indemnity, and opened out his country to Russian traders.

The subsequent negotiations with the Bukhárá Amír not proving satisfactory led to the active prosecution of the war, to his own speedy subjection to the Russian protectorate, and to the occupation by Russia of the sister city of Samarcand in August 1868—a position which brought them into direct contact with the little states of Carátakin, Darwáz, and Shighnán on the upper waters of the Oxus; and into communication with their Tajik populations, cognate in birth and speech, and confederate in creed and polity, with their Aryan brethren of Badakhshan and Wakhán and the other petty independent hill states on the southern slopes of the Hindú-Kúsh Range down to Kabul on one side and Kashmír on the other. A fact of no small importance, and notable, too, as bringing Russian influence beyond the pale of Uzbek and Tátár polity in Central Asia into the sphere of the great Aryan element of the Indian continent south of the mountains.

Whilst this succession of events and transfer of governments was taking place on the west of the Bolor Range, a hardly less important revolution had been brought

Rom. to a more bloody close by the substitution of a new government in the country to its east. Here Russia had already acquired a high degree of political influence since her establishment at Almati Vernoe in 1853, and subsequent advance in 1860 to Piskak and Tokmak (the latter of which is now a flourishing Russian town with 400 *mujik* settlers brought from Moscow); and later again by the extension of her frontier to the Nárin and establishment of her outposts at only eight days' march from the capital of Káshghar; an influence which was favoured by the concessions of a commercial treaty with the Chinese government, according to the stipulations of which Russia acquired the right to establish trade agencies and build factories in the towns of Eastern or Chinese Turkistan—a privilege, however, which was very suddenly invalidated by the revolution that now in the course of sequence claims our notice.

The insurrection of the Muhammadan Chinese, called Tungání, which broke out in the province of Kánsúh in 1862, and which has in the space of a single decade shaken the stability of the ancient government of the celestial empire to its very base is, I believe, referable to that vague and ill understood revival of Islam of which so many instances have attracted attention in widely separated parts of the Muhammadan world during the last fifteen years; and may be counted as a result of the fanatic obstructiveness of the faith to the advancing civilization and knowledge of the age.

P. Be this as it may, the religious insurrection commencing at Sálár or Hochow, in Kánsúh, which was the principal seat of the Tungání sectarians, spread very rapidly over the subordinate governments of Zúnghár and Káshghar, in which the Tungání—formerly, even against their Khoja co-religionists, the most loyal, and now the sole rebel—formed an important portion of the imperial troops holding the several frontier towns. The cities of Zúnghár and the eastern cities of Káshghar were the first to join in the rebellion, and almost simultaneously to overthrow the constituted authority by the massacre of the Buddhist Chinese officials and residents for the usurpation of the government under Muhammadan leaders of the Khoja or Priest class.

So rapid were the successes of these fanatic insurgents, and so weak was the authority of the Chinese governors, that by the end of 1862 all the eastern cities of Káshghar from Cámól or Khámil to Acsú had thrown off the Chinese yoke and massacred, or subjected to the *jazyá* or "poll-tax," all the Buddhist officials, traders, and nomads. The movement did not spread with equal rapidity, nor with a like combination in action in the western cities or Altysahr where, though the population was more Muhammadan, it was less Chinese, and consequently had no common interest in the movement worked by the Tungání who, as belonging to the *Sádfí* sect, were rather contemned by the orthodox *cháryárf* of the western states; though when in the following year the outbreak was precipitated in Yarkand by the action of the Chinese governor there, the Musalmáns generally were not backward in joining the *ghazát* against their infidel rulers.

In these western cities under Khocand influence discontent with the Chinese rule had been rapidly on the increase since the revolt of Walí Khán in 1857, owing to the intrigues of the Andijánís through their commercial agents. At Yarkand the Chinese Governor over the Musalmáns in the city, Afrídún Wáng of Turfán, who had held the post since ten years before the attack by Tilá Khán, became jealous of the power and growing independence of these Khocand consuls, and on the arrival of a new agent with thirty followers from that state in 1859 after the resumption of commercial relations in the preceding year, he caused their assassination by the Ambán on the representation that they were circulating seditious papers inciting the Musalmáns to rise and expel the Chinese.

The internal troubles of Khocand at this time did not admit of the Khán taking a revengeful notice of this hostile act, but the Andijan interest at Khutan was brought to bear against Afrídún Wáng, and he was deposed in favour of Rustam Beg

of that place, who had bought over the Ambán with a bribe of eight *chárak* of gold, equal in weight to a hundred and sixty pounds. Afrídún Wáng, on being deposed, returned to his home at Lukchun, near Turfán, and there joining the nascent Tungani revolt came back to Kúcha, and took an active part in setting Ráshuddin Khoja at the head of affairs there. He subsequently submitted to Ya'cúb Beg, who squeezed him of all his wealth, for he was one of the richest men in the country, and made him reside at Káshghar; where the decrepid old man died, and left two sons in poor circumstances. Afrídún was thoroughly Chinese in his interests, and aided Ráshuddin to found a Tungání government under Khoja leaders of his own family at Acsú, Yarkand, and Khutan, in opposition to the Khocand party who had got possession of Káshghar. But his efforts failed owing to the jealousies dividing the Tungání, the Khoja, and the Musalmán Chinese officials parties, and he finally succumbed to Ya'cúb Beg, who rose on ruins of this house divided against itself.

Rustam Beg on assuming his dear bought office at once commenced to recoup his outlay, and squeezed the people by severe punishments, fines, and exactions of sorts. They endured his tyranny for three months, and then rose in riot to expel him from the city. He at once called in the aid of the Ambán, who marched a party of Chinese soldiers from the adjoining Yángishahr Fort into the city; but quiet was not restored till Rustam Beg was deposed, and Nyáz Beg, a candidate put forward by the citizens, was appointed in his place.

Following this, an ill-feeling arose between the Musalmán Tungání and their Budhist Khitáy comrades in the garrison, and many quarrels broke out amongst them. Just at this time, too, the Ambán received secret tidings of the Tungání mutinies in the eastern cities. He kept the news secret for some time, and then his communications with the head-quarters at Ila being cut off by the rebels, he held a private council of his principal officers, and by the consent of all it was decided to disarm all the Tungání troops. Some delay and hesitation occurred in carrying out the decision, and in the interim the intention was secretly conveyed to the Máh Dáláy who commanded the Tungání by one of his spies; and he determined to be beforehand with the Ambán, and set a strict watch upon his palace.

Shortly after, a second private council was held by the Ambán, and the Máh Dáláy, learning that the morrow had been fixed for the disarming of his men, immediately took his measures to frustrate the decision. Accordingly, that same night he summoned a number of his officers privately to his quarters, briefly informed them of the Ambán's design against them, and told them to go off to their quarters and at once inform their men of the part they were to act in the plan he had arranged to prevent its execution, and to seize the government for themselves. Having done this, he left his quarters with some 50 men, surprised the Khitáy guard sleeping outside the fort gate, and cut the throats of all as they lay more or less drugged with opium. By this time he was joined by about 400 others who, according to instructions, had followed in his track, and he then set fire to the gates and dispersed them inside the fort to rouse the garrison with the alarm of fire.

The Khitáy and Tungání troops were quartered together in the outer part of the fort, whilst the inner part or citadel was occupied by the Ambán and principal officers and their Khitáy guards. And this inner fort was shut off from the outer by walls and gates of its own. As the garrison in the outer fort was roused by the alarm of fire, the men, Tungání and Khitáy, came running out of their quarters together, but for very different purposes. The Tungání were all armed, and each now, according to his instructions, slew his Khitáy comrade as he issued from his quarters.

By this stratagem the Tungání killed 2,000 of their Khitáy brethren before the day dawned, when those in the inner fort, being roused by the tumult, attacked and expelled them from the Yángishahr.

The Máh Dáláy and his mutineers then entered the city just as the gates were opened with the rising sun, and with white scarves tied round their heads and drooping in lappets over the shoulders dispersed through the bazars, calling on the

P. people to join the *ghazát* and slay the infidel Khitáy. The city chiefs, fearing the vengeance of the Chinese reinforcements as on previous occasions of revolt, attempted to quell the tumult and restore order, but the mob of ruffians, gamblers, drunkards, and others who were more or less in debt to the Chinese traders, rushed all over the city and with their knives killed every Khitáy man, woman, and child they could lay hands on, and plundered their houses. So rapid was the work of their destruction, that by noon not a Khitáy was left alive in the city, except a few who had found concealment in the houses of Musalmán friends. From the city the mob, joining the Tungání mutineers, issued into the bazar connecting it with the Yángishahr, five hundred yards to the west and wholly occupied by Khitáy and foreign traders and settlers, and there by sunset completed the rôle of death commenced in the morning. And thus on one of the hottest days of the year, 23rd *Safar* 1280H. (10th August 1868), perished some 7,000 Khitáy souls.

The Ambán meantime barricaded the citadel in Yángishahr, and during the next three days with his Khitáy troops drove the Tungání mutineers from the outer fort in which they had regained a footing. The Tungání, now without a leader, made a wealthy and saintly divine of the city, one Sahibzáda Abdurrahmán, their king, and appointed the merchant Nyáz Beg, the recently-elected governor, to be his *wazír*. They next sent off messengers with the news of their success to the adjacent cities, and then set to organize a force to besiege the Khitáy shut up in the Yángishahr citadel. On receipt of this intelligence, the cities of Khutan, Yángi Hissár, Káshghar, and Acsú all rose simultaneously against the Khitáy; and within six weeks had massacred them all, of both sexes and every age, except the garrisons which held out in the forts; and then they each and all became the scenes of the most rampant discord and contention amongst rival pretenders to the government till Ya'cúb Beg came and reduced them all one after the other to his own subjection.

The siege of the Yángishahr at Yarkand had lasted three months, when Khoja Isá from Kúchá and Khoja Mahmúd from Acsú, with others who had been ousted in the struggle for ascendancy in those places by more powerful leaders, arrived at the city with a numerous following of adventurers. They were welcomed by the besiegers, and a succession of unsuccessful attempts were made to take the Yángishahr by assault. Finally, after six months' siege, having blown down a considerable portion of the outer wall by mining and powder, the besiegers stormed the breach and massacred the defenders without quarter.

The Ambán had assembled his family and principal officers in the reception hall of his palace, and on finding all was now lost emptied his pipe on a previously laid train of powder at his feet, and perished with them in the explosion. On this the soldiers rushed to the powder magazines, one on each side of the citadel square, and setting fire to them disappeared in the ruin of their explosions. For three days similar upheavals of concealed mines continued to scatter the limbs and heads of the defenders amidst the disturbed mass of ruin.

The Khitáy being now entirely destroyed, the Kúchá and Acsú Khojas soon quarreled with Abdurrahmán as to the control of the government on the grounds of the victory having been won by them; but the Tungání rallying round the king they had set up drove the Khojas from the city. After a while these Khojas were joined by reinforcements from Acsú under Khoja Burhánuddín of Kúchá, and through his mediation Abdurrahmán consented to a division of the government; the Khojas to rule in the city, and the Tungání to hold the Yángishahr Fort. This arrangement lasted for two months, when the Tungání went to attack Khutan, but were repulsed, as will be related hereafter.

Whilst these changes were occurring at Yarkand, another somewhat similar course of events was being enacted at Káshghar. Here the Chinese *Hákim Beg*, or "District Governor," over the Musalmáns was Cútlúgh Beg of Kúchá. He had recently, owing to the stoppage of funds to pay the troops from China, by order of the Ambán, imposed a new tax of 2 per cent. on all sale transactions in the city.

The people, fretting under this imposition, sent some Actághlúc agents to Khocand complaining of the violation of the trade regulations established by the Khan, and seeking relief from the exactions of their oppressors. Alím Culi was at the time too much taken up with his own troubles to heed their request, and meanwhile intelligence of the Yárkand outbreak arriving, the people rose in revolt and massacred all the Khitáy traders and residents in the city. The Amlán, without attempting to quell the tumult in the city, shut himself up with his troops in the Yángishahr, five miles to the south of it.

On this the Actághlúc chiefs of Artosh called in the aid of Sadíc Beg, Cirghiz, to restore order. He hastened down with his men, and joining them was put in possession of the city; but he and his men being more intent on plunder than on the restoration of order were soon expelled the city by the Governor Cútlúgh Beg, acting in the interest of the Chinese with the support of the citizens, who were already disgusted at the numerous murders and horrid barbarities perpetrated on their fellow co-religionists by the Cirghiz chief and his savages. Sadíc now was joined by the Tungání who on the first outbreak of the rebellion had escaped from the Yángishahr and joined the rioters, whilst a number of their less fortunate brethren were seized and killed by the Ambán. With the aid of these troops he made several unsuccessful attempts to seize the city held by Cútlúgh, and after three months of desultory and ineffectual skirmishing in the suburbs he sent an envoy to Alím Culi, informing him of the state of affairs and asking for a Khoja to come and take the country. Alím Culi was at this time engaged in strengthening the defences of Táshkand against the impending attack by the Russians, and in reply to the appeal of Sadíc Beg sent off Buzurg Khan *Tora*, the heir of Jahángir, to recover the throne of his ancestors; but as he could spare no troops to send with him, he appointed Ya'cúb Beg *Coshbegi* to accompany him as General and raise what force he could.

Buzurg Khán and Ya'cúb Beg with Abdulla *Pánsad*, Muhammad Culi *Shagháwal*, and Khoja Kalán *Hudáychi*, left Táshkand towards the end of November 1864, and at once repaired to Khocand, there to complete the final preparations for their enterprize. At the capital they were joined by some officers who had been left behind by Khudáyár, and a few other adventurers, and towards the close of the year set out for Káshghar. At Osh a few others joined and raised the number of the whole party as it left Andijan to only 68 individuals. From Osh they took the road of the Tirik Dawán, and in fourteen days reached Mingyol on the outskirts of Káshghar during the first days of the new year 1865.

Sadíc Beg, after he had sent off his envoys, repented of having asked for a Khoja, and now sought to turn Buzurg back, hoping soon to take the city without the aid of his weighty name, but the citizens and villagers hearing of his arrival flocked out to welcome him. On this Sadíc raising the siege retired to Sarman, and sent forward his brother, Cádír Beg, to welcome the Khoja, and with a proffer of his service to invite him to the entertainment he had prepared for him. Buzurg and his party accordingly came to Sarman, and next day set out for the city with the Cirghiz chief. Here Cútlúgh Beg opened the gates to the Khoja, and surrendering the city installed him in the *Orda*, or "Palace," as king amidst the acclamations of the citizens.

Buzurg Khán on thus easily gaining possession of the city committed the reins of government to Ya'cúb Beg, and himself true to the character of his class at once launched into a succession of pleasures and debaucheries. On this Sadíc finding himself ousted from all participation in the government became discontented, and on the fourth day after the installation of Buzurg withdrew with his men to Yángí Hissár, and setting up as claimant of the throne called the Cirghiz in the hills to the west and the Pámir to rally round him. Meanwhile Ya'cúb Beg settled the city, and retaining most of the old officials in their posts under Andijání supervisors, secured the Tungání for the service of the Khoja, and raised a small force from amongst the Andijání, Afghán, and other residents in the city. Whilst so engaged—twenty days after the defection of Sadíc Beg, and about the beginning of

P. February—a small party arrived from Táshkand with news of Alím Culi's victory over the Russians at Aycán, and brought with them 40 heads of the slain. These were exhibited in the main bazars, to the delight of the populace and gratification of the chiefs, and were the means of soon raising Ya'cúb Beg's army to some 3,000 men.

Sadíc Beg meanwhile had raised a force of as many Cirghiz, and with them marching against Káshghar invested the city and demanded its surrender. He fixed his head-quarters at the shrine of Hazrát Pádsháh, a few hundred yards from the south-eastern walls, and with sacrifices of horses and sheep devoutly sought the aid of the saint against the interlopers. On this Buzurg sent out Ya'cúb Beg to disperse the besiegers. After a slight skirmish he drove off their detachment posted in front of the Cúm Darwáza, or "Sand Gate," and fixing his head-quarters at the shrine of Sayyid Jaláluddín Bughdáí, a few hundred yards off to the south and close to the shrine occupied by Sadíc Beg, next morning sent forward Abdulla *Pansad* with a small force to dislodge him. This he quickly did by the bold impetuosity of his attack, and pursued his scattered Cirghiz across the Cizil River to Pakhtaghlic, whence Sadíc escaped to Tashmalik where he rallied his dispersed followers.

Buzurg and Ya'cúb Beg now took the field together with 400 horse and 4,000 foot raised in the city and suburbs. They seized Farrásh, the fort of Sadíc, and Buzurg holding this sent his General to the encounter with the Cirghiz pretender. Ya'cúb Beg overtook the enemy next day at the foot of the hills where the Cirghiz held fast to meet their opponents. On their approach, according to custom, they put forward their champion, a gigantic fellow named Súránchí, who could fell an ox at a blow, for single combat. Abdulla volunteered to meet the adversary, and in the first charge driving his lance through the heart of the Cirghiz killed him on the spot. Sadíc seeing his champion fall, fled into the hills, and being deserted by his gathering, who now dispersed to their camps, made his way with only a few attendants to Alím Culi at Khocand.

After this successful expedition Ya'cúb Beg rejoined Buzurg at Farrásh, and they marched together against Yángí Hissár, where the Chinese garrison held out in its Yángíshahr Fort. They besieged the fort ineffectually for three weeks, and then leaving a force behind to continue the investment returned to Káshghar, where, three days after arrival, Ya'cúb Beg took up his quarters at Pakhtaghlic and laid siege to the Yángíshahr held by the Ambán and his Khitáy garrison; whilst Buzurg re-established in the *Orda* returned to his drugs and women.

Just after the siege had commenced, Nar Muhammad *Parwánchí* with a small party arrived at Mingyol, and was detained there by the outpost guard for the orders of Ya'cúb Beg. He sent out the *dastúrkhwán* of welcome, and directed they should all be brought in to him. Nar Muhammad now explained that his companion—Ibráhím Khán, the son of Habíbulla Kháu, Pádsháh of Khutan—had come as envoy from his father to Alím Culi to announce his success against the Khitáy and seek a friendly alliance; and that Alím Culi having received him with favour had granted him the title of Sudúr Khán, and on his departure to return home had appointed himself (Nar Muhammad) to accompany him as envoy from Khocand to the Pádsháh of Khutan.

On this Ya'cúb Beg decided on accompanying them as far as Yárkand, because the Kúchá Khojas who were in power there, though subordinate to the Khán Khoja—that is, Buzurg Khán—had not yet tendered their submission. They set out together from Káshghar on the 1st *Maharram* 1283H. (28th May 1865). On arrival at Kok Rabát, the Governor of Yárkand, Nyáz Beg, and some of the Tungání leaders came out to meet Ya'cúb Beg with presents and a promise of welcome at the city. They halted a day, exchanged civilities, and renewed mutual vows of sincerity, and then advanced towards the city. At Caráhojush they encountered a Tungání picket and were refused a passage; but after a parley with their leaders and Nyáz Beg, who explained that the visit of the Coshbegi was of a friendly nature merely to convey

to the Kúchá Khojas some messages from his master the Khán Khoja, they gave way, and Ya'cúb Beg and his party alighted in the city at quarters provided by the Governor near his own residence. Notwithstanding the good offices of Nyáz Beg, the negotiations of the Coshbegi with the Kúchá Khojas did not progress, and both they and the city chiefs studiously held aloof from him. P.

The Khutan party was to have gone on after a rest of three days, but in the interval news came of the arrival at Taghárchi of the Kúchá army, 2,000 men. On this Burhánuddín Khoja of Kúchá, who had become ruler of the city after the destruction of the Khitáy garrison, and who had been most determined in his opposition to the proposed negotiations with the Coshbegi for the acknowledgment of Buzurg Khán as sovereign, rode up to the house occupied by Ya'cúb Beg, and summoning him by name, shouted in a blunt, peremptory voice, "I give you quarter now. Depart safe and sound. Refuse, and I seize and cast you into prison." An angry altercation followed, and quickly merged into conflict between the attendants on both sides. The Khoja Burhánuddín was captured in the struggle, and sent prisoner to the house of Abdurrahmán Hazrát, the king elected by the Tungání at the commencement of the outbreak. His followers then quickly dispersed, and with the other Khojas went to join the force at Taghárchi, which now at once advanced against Yárkand.

On their approach next morning, Ya'cúb Beg came out of the city by the Cabáhat Gate on the west, and sent Abdulla with 50 men to reconnoitre the enemy; whilst he took up a position to the south, between Yángishahr and the city. Abdulla having advanced too far to the north-west round the city walls was drawn into action with the advance of the Kúchá army. His little band fought with great bravery, and inflicted considerable loss upon their assailants till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Tungání in the Yángishahr, false to their promises, issued from the fort and with 50 *tyú* guns joined the enemy. Abdulla was now forced to beat a retreat, and fighting all the way back beat, at sunset rejoined Ya'cúb Beg with 20 of his men wounded.

Ya'cúb Beg now held a consultation with his officers, and as his whole force numbered only 200 men, it was decided to abandon their property left in the city and retreat immediately to Káshghar. Before leaving he detached Nar Muhammad *Parwánchi*, Mír Bábá *Hudáychi*, Hamdam *Pánsad*, and other Khocand officials of Sudúr Khán's party to his own side, and on arrival at Yángí Hissár he sent them on to Buzurg at Káshghar for surveillance. Meanwhile Sudúr in return plundered their abandoned property and fled the city to Khutan.

At Yángí Hissár Ya'cúb Beg sat down to resume the siege of the Yángishahr there, which was still held by the Khitáy, who found some means of getting supplies from their well-wishers in the town. During three weeks of fusilading from the walls his soldiers mined the ditch, and Ya'cúb Beg then sent Abdulla to Káshghar to bring Buzurg with reinforcements for the assault. The reinforcements were collected in ten days, and then Buzurg Khán set out for Yángí Hissár, and on arrival there took up his residence in the old town. At this juncture news came of the arrival at Sarígh Cúl, "Yellow Defile" (the Sirikol of the maps), of a Bádakhshí army; and it was at the same time discovered that Hamráh Khán, the brother of Sára Khán *Mírbača* of Kúláb, who had come over as a partizan of Sadíc Beg and had joined Buzurg Khán when the Cirghiz aspirant fled to Khocand, had secretly sent a messenger to Jahándár Sháh of Bádakhshán to send him 1,000 men and he would seize Káshghar and Yángí Hissár for him, as the troops here were very few, and the new comers very unpopular.

Jahándár Sháh in consequence of this message appointed one Sadíc *Acsacál* as commandant, and Sáhíb Nazar Beg and Cútlúgh Sháh Mír as his Lieutenants, and with 1,000 men sent them to join Hamráh Khán; and they now arrived at Sarígh Cúl.

Ya'cúb Beg did not consider it politic at that moment to take notice of the perfidy of Hamráh Khán as he commanded a strong contingent in the besieging

P. force, but pushed on the attack against the fort with redoubled energy; and it fell to the vigour of his assault on the fortieth day of the siege, about the beginning of July 1865, with a loss of 100 killed, and Hamráh Khán amongst the number; whilst 2,000 Khitáy were slaughtered without quarter, and 250 taken captive. The booty found in the fort was divided amongst the troops, and after a week Aziz Beg of the adjoining town was appointed its governor with a suitable garrison. Mír Bábá *Hudáychi* was now sent to Alím Culi to report the victory and present as offerings 100 Khitáy captives, 40 *tyfú* guns, 100 silver *Yámbú* = 17,200 Rs., 50 silk *túwár* (saddle cloths), and many slave girls including nine virgins.

After securing and settling the district, Buzurg and his General returned to Káshghar and celebrated their success by a week of festivity and rejoicing. After this Ya'cúb Beg came out of the city, and taking up his residence in the new house built for him at Pakhtaghlic, set to press the siege of the Yángishahr which, since his departure for Yárkand, had become very slack.

Mír Bábá had arrived at Marghinán with his charge when he heard of the capture of Nyáz Beg Fort by the Russians and the departure of Alím Culi from Khocand with a large army to the support of Táshkand. He accordingly hurried on with his party towards Táshkand, and had crossed the Kandír Dawán to Tiláo, when he met the fugitive troops and learned of Alím Culi's death; so he halted where he was.

At this time Beg Muhammad, Capchác, Governor of Andiján, and Mirzá Ahmad, Governor of Marghinán, both shamming sick, were at the summons of Alím Culi proceeding to the front leisurely together in carts. They had crossed the Chilchik River to Coylic when they met the fugitives from Táshkand and heard of the death of Alím Culi. They at once threw off their mask and mounting their horses hurried back to Toytappa, and there collecting the scattered troops consulted with the chiefs as to a successor to Alím Culi. Mirzá Ahmad, the malingerer, proposed, and the others consented, that Beg Muhammad, his fellow malingerer, be raised to the government with the title of *Mingbáshí*; and he forthwith appointed his colleague, Mirzá Ahmad, to the office of *Parwánchi*. Both reprobates then marched to Tiláo, and summoning Mír Bábá with the Káshghar offerings, divided all amongst themselves and followers, and then returned to Khocand, where they joined the upstart Khudá Culi Khán.

Meanwhile, as before mentioned, Nabbi Baksh from Táshkand had summoned the aid of Bukhárá, and on the restoration of Khudáyár to Khocand and the flight of Khudá Culi Beg thence to Mádí, these worthies deserted him and went to Gulsha with a number of others. At this place Sadíc Beg, Cirghiz, persuaded Kichik Khán *Tora* to join him in an attack to seize Káshghar from Buzurg Khán; and they set out on this enterprise with 1,000 men under the Cirghiz leaders Uthmán, Mullá Arzú, Cosh, Khadír Ali, and others.

On arrival at Táshmalik they were joined by more Cirghiz, and took the fort of Farrásh by "coup." Its governor on the part of Buzurg Khán, one Halím *Ishikaghá*, escaped and fled to Yácúb Beg with the intelligence. He at once despatched Abdulla with 100 men to attack them, and himself followed with a larger force. The advance party drove in the Cirghiz picket at the Farrásh River, and Abdulla rushing at the fort put Sadíc to flight in the hills, and captured many horses and prisoners, and, amongst other things left in the fort, all his musical instruments, by the strains of which his Cirghiz were encouraged to the fight. Ya'cúb Beg came up on the recovery of the fort, and sent letters promising life and pardon to Sadíc and the *Tora* on condition of their coming in and submitting to Buzurg Khán.

The Cirghiz and Capchác on this consulted together, and seeing no prospect of a career in Khocand, decided on casting in their lot with the Khoja at Káshghar; and accordingly sent Uthmán *Dádkhwáh* to Yácúb Beg with a tender of submission and service from all their party. He was re-assured, conciliated and robed, and then sent back to bring the party in. Sadíc Beg and Kichik Khán, with the other chiefs

and their followers, next day made their appearance at Farrásh. They were welcomed and robed, and assigned a place in the fort as troops in the service of the Khoja Buzurg Khán, before whom Kichik was sent to pay his respects as to an eldest brother. P.

As before mentioned, Hamráh Khán had summoned an army from Badakhshán, which shortly after arrival at Sárigh Cúl heard of his death at the assault of Yángí Hissár. The chiefs on this consulted whether they should return empty-handed to meet the jeers of their countrymen and taunts of their wives, or advance and seek a share in the profits of war; and they decided on first offering their services to Ya'cúb Beg. He accepted their offer, only too glad to draw any men to his ranks, for, owing to the divided state of parties in the country, the single district of Káshghar offered but a limited field for recruiting, and sent Masúm Khán *Tora* to Sárigh Cúl to re-assure the Badakhshí leaders and to bring the whole force to him at Farrásh by way of Yángí Hissár. On arrival they were feasted and robed, and quartered with the Cirghiz and Capchác, 2,000 men altogether, who with one accord acknowledged Yácúb Beg as their leader and ruler; the first sign of the independence Yácúb Beg presently asserted, and soon after made good.

From Farrásh these new troops were shortly removed to assist in the siege of the Káshghar Yángíshahr. A few days later, about the end of July 1865, news came from Khánaric that the troops of Kúchá, Acsú, and Uch Turfán, having met at Marálbáshí, had moved on to Taghárchí, and there, in conference with the Tungání and Yárkand chiefs, had agreed to attack and destroy the Khocand invaders, to seize Káshghar and make it the capital, and then to annex Andiján. Jamáluddín Khoja of Acsú had been elected *Amíriláshkar*, and being joined by the Tungání from Yárkand with 100 *tyfá* and four large cannon had marched to Mughal Tárim and there mustered his force, 40,000 men including 1,500 Tungání. From this he had marched, with the Tungání in advance, and camped in the settlement of Khánaric; from which he threatened Yángí Hissár.

On learning this intelligence, Yácúb Beg appointed Kichik Khán *Tora* to continue the siege of Yángíshahr, and bringing Buzurg out of the city, where he was besotting himself with drugs and debauchery of the vilest, took him with a force of only 2,400 men to confront the enemy and divert attention from Yángí Hissár, and camped at two *farsakh* from the Kúchá army to conceal his strength. That night they offered prayers and sacrifices for victory, and next morning disposed their force in three divisions—Buzurg with 1,200 Badakhshí and Cirghiz in the centre, Yácúb Beg with 1,000 Capchác and Andijání on the right, and Abdulla and Ghazi Beg *Pánsad* with only 200 Andijání and Capchác on the left. They all now performed prayers, and then confessing and repenting their sins formally pardoned each the other's faults and offences, and then imploring victory from God mounted and went against the enemy's host.

The Kúchá army was in readiness, and the battle closed on all sides at once. Yácúb Beg was soon hard-pressed, and, wounded in two places by gun-shot, was obliged to retire a little. His Cirghiz and Capchác, seeing this, turned and fled the field to take up a safe position four miles off. The Badakhshí now came in for the brunt of the enemy's attack, and losing a few men quickly followed with Buzurg at their head to join the other fugitives. At this critical juncture the Kúchá troops, oppressed by heat and thirst, slackened the attack to slake their parched throats at an intervening canal. Yácúb Beg seized the opportunity, whilst denouncing the cowardice of Buzurg, to rally some of his special adherents, and "applying to his wounds the ointment of the empire he aimed at," banished hesitation and cheered them to a renewal of the contest. "Victory is the gift of God," he said, "and depends not on mere numbers and arms. This is the moment for exertion. The least hesitation, now and all is lost." With these words he led them afresh to the attack, and driving the enemy from the canal, slew some hundreds as they lay on its banks exhausted by the heat and fatigue.

P. By sunset the Kúchá army was in full retreat from Khánaric, leaving 3,000 dead on the field, and nearly double the number of prisoners who were unable to follow their fugitive brethren. Amongst these last were 1,000 Tungání who, having lost nearly 500 men in the battle, now asked quarter, and tendering submission sought service with the victor. Yácúb Beg pardoned them all, and enrolling them amongst his own troops shortly afterwards employed them in the siege of the Yángishahr. To the remaining captives, with whom he knew not what to do, he extended a like clemency, and mounting them double on stray horses running about the field sent them after their retreating comrades. After the battle the runaways with Buzurg joined the camp; but the troops now looked to Yácúb Beg as their real master.

Three days after their return to Káshghar from the victory of Khánaric, Mír Babá *Huddáchi*, the messenger to Alím Culi with the offerings sent from Yángi Hissár, arrived at Mingyol from Khocand. He was accompanied by Yácúb Beg's son, Khuda Culi Beg, aged sixteen years, and his mother, and by Cází Ziauddin and Cádír Culi *Dádkhwáh* as envoys on the part of Beg Muhammad *Mingbáshí* and Mirzá Ahmad *Parwánchi* to seek his protection for the Cirghiz and Capchác. Yácúb Beg approved their request and sent back a messenger to inform them that "if Khocand were too small for them, there was ample room in Káshghar, and that his own prosperity was bound up in theirs."

Just about this time, too, news came from Yárkand that the enemy defeated at Khánaric had passed on to Kúchá without coming to the city, and that a governor was wanted to maintain order. Yácúb Beg consequently sent Mír Babá with the rank of *Dádkhwáh* to secure and settle the place. With the aid of Nyáz Beg he established himself in the *Orda* there, and conciliating the chiefs who welcomed him, soon succeeded in winning over the Tungání who held the Yángishahr to come and pay their respects and tender submission to Yácúb Beg.

Yácúb Beg now pressed the siege of Yángishahr with redoubled vigilance, impatient to get possession of it as a starting-point for the career he had in view. The Kho Dáláy, or Commandant of the Khitáy troops, had as his Musalmán agent and interpreter one Tokhta *Ishki Beg*, "Great Lord," who, under the Chinese rule, held the Artosh Valley in fief. Some of the spies employed by Yácúb Beg got into correspondence with this Tokhta, and as a co-religionist appealed to him to surrender the fort. The faithful man, however, declined to betray his confiding master; but being persuaded that they could not much longer hold out in the fort, he pointed out to the Kho Dáláy the extremity that threatened them all; for during the two years of siege by the Cirghiz and Andijání successively, their accumulated, and from time to time as opportunity offered, replenished stores, had become exhausted. He showed him that nothing remained for them now but death by famine or the sword, except the one way of escape by surrender and safety through Islam; and this one way he urged on him to adopt. The Kho Dáláy agreed to the proposal, and sent Tokhta to bring Yácúb Beg's assurance of protection on those terms. On his return with a favourable reply, the Kho Dáláy informed Cháng Táý, the Ambán, of his decision; but he refused to accept any terms, and at 10 o'clock that same night, the first Thursday in September 1865, just a month after the victory of Khánaric, set fire to his palace and with his family and dependents perished in the flames.

Yácúb Beg, informed of the conflagration, at once came out to the assault, but first sent Abdulla with a number of *tonchi*, or "interpreters," to offer the garrison quarter on unconditional surrender. These shouted out their message under the walls, and were answered by Tokhta from a turret over the gate; and presently the Kho Dáláy with his son and three daughters and a number of attendants surrendered to Abdulla and received protection. But in the confusion the troops assembled for the assault—Andijání, Cirghiz, Capchác, Badakhshí, and Afghán—all rushed in to the work of destruction, and during eight days massacred, sacked, and plundered. Three thousand Khitáy families, however, escaped, and on accepting Islám were granted quarter. After this guards were set at the gates and order was restored.

The fort was now cleared of nearly 4,000 corpses, and a mosque and *orda* were at once raised by Khitáy labour on the ruins of the Chinese temple and Ambán's palace respectively. Before their completion Yácúb Beg entered the Yángíshahr, and establishing himself in the *orda*, performed prayers and a complete recital of the Curán in the new mosque. He celebrated his success by a grand feast to the poor, and by marrying the beautiful eldest daughter of the Kho Dáláy, whom for her sake he treated with marked favour. He restored him to the command of his Khitáy, now called *Yángí Musalmán* or new Musalmán, and settling them in a separate fort gave him the rule over their families with the power of life and death amongst them. The Kho Dáláy still held his position and privileges when we saw him and his people during our stay at Káshghar. They are all enrolled in the service of the present Amír Muhammad Yácúb Khán, but are rarely employed on other than sentry duty, and are not trusted generally. Indeed, it is suspected that in secret they still practise their Buddhist religion.

About the end of September, following the festivities by which this success was celebrated, the outpost officer at Mingyol reported the advance of a large party from Khocand over the Tirik Dawán Pass towards Káshghar, and headed by Khudá Culi Khán, Capchac, and many notable chiefs. On this Yácúb Beg sent Eshán Mahmúd Khán, the *Shekhulislám* of the city, out to Mingyol to ascertain whether they came as friends or foes, and with the brief ultimatum: "If friends, they are welcome. If foes, I am ready to fight them."

The high priest found the party consisted of Khudá Culi Khán with his Capchac and Cirghiz, nearly 1,000 men; and that he was accompanied by Beg Muhammad *Míngbáshí*, Mirza Ahmad *Dastúrkhwánci*, Eshán Khán Tora, *Tora Kalán*, Walí Khán Tora, his brother, Muhammad Yúnus *Shaghawul*, Muhammad Nazar Beg *Coshbegi*, Cosh *Parwánci*, and the *Dádkhwáhs* Janak, Múlán and others, and Umar Culi *Huddaychi*, together with Náib Nabbi Baksh *Jamádar*, and a number of *Pansad* officers and court officials, such as Hakím Beg, Turdí Culi, Sayyid Beg, Abdurrahmán, Isa, and others. There were with them, besides, Akram Khan the son of the Mír of Hissár, and some sons of the Mír of Orátappa. He learned that they had all rebelled and fought against Khudáyár Khan, by whom they had been defeated at Súfi Caráwal with the loss of their artillery, and the capture of most of their troops; and that they had fled to Tocáy Báshí, and thence come on by Nacára Cháldí and Ulughát to Mingyol, where they awaited what God should provide for them.

Yácúb Beg had already sent out ample provisions to Mingyol by way of welcome to his countrymen and former associates, and the *Shekhulislám* singing his praises advised them all to come in, tender submission, and offer service. Khuda Culi Khán with his followers hesitated; but the Khoja brothers with Mirzá Ahmad, Muhammad Yúnus, and the sons of the Khocandi Mír, and most of the others joining the high priest repaired with him to the presence of Yácúb Beg, and congratulating him on his success declared themselves his devoted servants.

Two days later the Cirghiz and Capchac left at Mingyol, hearing of the favourable reception of their fellow refugees, and seeing no other alternative than submission, seized their Khán, and bringing him before Yácúb Beg, apologized for their hesitation, and begged to be enrolled in his service as the others had been. Their request was acceded to, and they were welcomed with a feast and robes of honour. Yácúb Beg, now strong with the accession of this force, dismissed the Badakhshí army to its home, and allowed the commandant to carry away with him the corpse of Hamráh Khán from Yangí Hissár.

Three weeks later, about the end of October 1865, Mír Bába, the *Dádkhwásh* of Yárkand, reported his inability to hold the place owing to the intrigues of the Tungání in the Yángíshahr. Yácúb Beg on this decided to go and settle the place himself, and dragging the careless Buzurg from his absorbing pleasures in the city, appointed Cosh Capchac *Parwánci* his own *locum tenens* in the Yángíshahr; and taking the Khoja with him set out with a strong force of Andijání, and the

- P. Tungání amnestied after the Khánaric fight; having first got the blessing of the *Shekhulislam* Eshán Mahmúd Khán. Yácúb Beg had early made a special friend of this most important Church dignitary, who was one of the original party coming over from Khocand.

When Yácúb Beg with the force going against Yárkand arrived at Yángí Hissár, he discovered reasons to doubt the fidelity of the Tungání contingent. He, consequently, at once disarmed them of four cannon, 100 *tyfú*, 200 spears, and 400 swords, which they had brought with them to the Khánaric fight, and stored them all in the fort there, and then, taking them along with his army, camped at Cizili. Here the Cirghiz and Capchác under Sadíc Beg, in connivance with Buzurg Khán, plotted to assassinate Yácúb Beg. Their design was discovered and immediately disclosed to the intended victim by Abdulla *Pánsad*, his trusty adherent.

Yácúb Beg was at the time able to do no more than increase the vigilance of his self-guard, and to summon the chiefs of the conspirators and bind them to good faith by oath on the Curán. He then marched on by Kok Rabát to Yárkand, where he pitched his camp with the Tungání in rear, at a mile to the south of the Yángíshahr, near Chíníbágh.

On their way to camp these disarmed Tungání interviewed some of their brethren from the Yángíshahr, and immediately proposed to them a night surprise upon the camp; but to allay suspicion advised a pretence of submission without delay. The Tungání leaders, accordingly, shortly repaired to the camp, and presenting rich offerings, humbly apologized for their conduct, and swore devotion and fidelity to the Khoja, and promised to surrender the city and fort to Yácúb Beg on the morrow. Thus deceived by their professions, the *Coshbegi* robed and dismissed the deputation, and the camp, careless of security, omitted the precaution of outlying pickets.

At midnight the Tungání issued from their fort, surprised the enemy's camp, and setting fire to some of the tents, slew many and dispersed the rest in utter confusion. Yácúb Beg and Abdulla with a few devoted adherents, after a hard hand to hand fight, in which they were all wounded, cut their way through the crowd of assailants and escaped to a place of shelter hard by; whilst the Tungání, joined by their disarmed brethren, plundered the camp and at daylight returned with their booty to the Yángíshahr.

Yácúb Beg now sent Abdulla with a few men to rally the scattered army, and he returned in the course of the day with some 300 bootless and half-clad fugitives, of whom an equal number from different quarters had already gathered round their chief to the sound of bugles blown in all directions around. The Cirghiz and Capchác, who had held by Buzurg Khán, now wished to separate, but Yácúb Beg appealing to the Khoja pointed out the folly of the step and the certain ruin it would bring upon him, and persuaded him to hold on for the capture of the city. They consequently, though with reluctance, rejoined and together returned to the original camp ground, and trenching the position awaited events. A few days later the Tungání, having gained over the city chiefs to their side, marched in and raising the populace expelled Mír Bábá and his few followers, and plundered the treasury. They then opened fire from the walls upon the Káshghar camp. On this the Cirghiz and Capchác, in connivance with Buzurg Khán who from the commencement, through pique at his secondary position, had done all his little abilities enabled him to thwart the operations of his General and rival, and whose conduct was the cause of the failure of this enterprise, again bodily deserted the camp with their leader Sadíc Beg. Yácúb Beg, however, managed to re-assure and win them back, and next day led them in person to the assault of the city. Abdulla leading the advance set fire to and forced the south gate, and driving the Tungání out of the city back to the shelter of their fort, reinstated Mír Bábá in the *orda* with a small garrison, and rejoined Yácúb Beg who, to prevent complications and a sack of the city, had withdrawn the force back to the camp.

Buzurg now no longer concealed his jealousy and displeasure, and with the aid of Sadíc Beg and his Cirghiz formed a rival party. Yácúb Beg on his own part, ever on the watch, forthwith secretly despatched Abdulla with only 20 men, all chosen adherents, to go and secure the city for him against surprise. He then appointed Nar Muhammad *Parwánchí* to the command of Abdulla's contingent, and set to win over the Tungání in Yángishahr who were already intriguing with Buzurg.

They met his advances promptly and with equal cunning, and on the suggestion of the go-betweens sent some messengers with offerings to express their contrition for past deeds, to beg forgiveness, and offer faithful service for the future. Yácúb Beg received their deputies with marked attention, and assuring them of his good-will and clemency, robed and dismissed them to bring in their leaders. These very shortly arrived in his camp, and vowing all sorts of fidelity and service, took their leave with profuse expressions of gratitude for their very handsome reception. But they no sooner returned to their own fort, than they set to plot treachery with the rival party in camp.

A day or two later, they moved out of Yángishahr to the shrine of Hazrát Muhammad Sharíf, and pitching tents and spreading carpets invited Yácúb Beg to a feast there to ratify their compact of fidelity and service. Fully aware of the risk of assassination, Yácúb Beg saw no way of escape; so he adopted the bold course, and committing himself to God's keeping and the protection of his prophet, set out with 20 attendants to meet his hosts, who received him with every mark of honour and presented a rich array of gifts. Buzurg Khán now seized the opportunity of Yácúb Beg's absence to carry out his own designs, and as he left the camp secretly summoned Sadíc Beg to his own tent. He arranged with him that he was to stay behind so as to check or impede the progress of Yácúb Beg in case he pursued, whilst he himself with Beg Muhammad *Mingbáshí* and 2,000 Cirghiz and Capchác at once set out for Káshghar.

His flight was immediately reported secretly to Yácúb Beg just as he rose from his devotions at the shrine of the saint, and he maintaining his composure took the first opportunity to leave his hosts and hurry back to camp. Here he collected and reassured the remaining troops, and despatched Nar Muhammad with Abdulla's contingent in pursuit of the deserters. He overtook them at Tázghún and captured some stragglers, but Buzurg and Beg Muhammad with most of their force escaped him, and seizing the Yángishahr of Káshghar established themselves in Yácúb Beg's quarters there. These from the first had been a source of menace and displeasure to Buzurg who, on their capture, now assumed the direction of the government himself, and denouncing Yácúb Beg as a rebel, appointed Beg Muhammad as General in his place. And now the rupture between the *Khoja* and the *Coshbegs* became complete.

Meanwhile the Tungání at Yárkand hearing of the flight of Buzurg, with whom they were in secret treaty for the surrender of Yárkand, and being assured by Yácúb Beg that he had returned to Andiján, forthwith tendered submission, and representing that they had been duped and were now without a head, begged he would appoint a *Khoja* to rule over them. Accordingly, Yácúb Beg appointed Kichik Khán *Tora* their ruler with Mír Bábá as *Dáakhwák*, and establishing them in the city with a small garrison set out to recover his position at Káshghar.

At Cizili he left his principal chiefs, such as the *Tora Kalán*, Sadíc Beg, Sayyid Beg, Hydar Culi, Mullá Turdí Culi, and Nabbi Bakhsh, to follow with the main army; whilst he pushed on with a small party to throw himself into the city of Káshghar held for him by Abdulla.

The defected Cirghiz and Capchác had meanwhile proclaimed Buzurg in the Yángishahr as Pádshah, and called on the people to join his standard as *murídi-mukhlis*, or "true disciples;" and the *Khoja* on hearing of the approach of the rebel himself issued from the fort, and riding up to the city walls with a crowd of his followers appealed with loud cries to the citizens to come out and join him as their lawful

P. king. But Abdulla, supported by the influence of the *Shekhulislám*, who in the city discountenanced any demonstration in favour of the Khoja, answered their calls with a volley from the walls, and the mob not prepared for such a reception retired to the Yángishahr.

Next day Buzurg learning that Yácúb Beg had arrived at Yapchang with only a small party, immediately sent out a force to intercept him on the way to the city. Yácúb Beg with his handful, however, attacked them vigorously, and after a hard fight put them to flight up to the fort ditch with the capture of a few stragglers and horses; and running the gauntlet of small mounted parties hovering on his flanks passed on to the city, where Abdulla with a deputation of the citizens came out to welcome him and renew their vows of devotion to his cause.

In this interim the force left at Cizili fell out amongst themselves. Here Sadíc Beg, true to his promise of impeding Ya'cúb Beg's return to Káshghar, drew away Sayyid Beg, Hydar Culi Capchác, Uthmán Cirghiz, and others into a plot to set up Eshán Khán *Tora*, called *Tora Kalán* or "Elder Tora," as king, and rebelling against Ya'cúb Beg to seize the Farrásh fort and make it the base of their operations. The Tora Kalán, however, refused the honour forced upon him, and being joined by Muhammad Nazar Beg, Nabbi Bakhsh, Turdi Culi and others, set them to watch the disaffected.

On this Sadíc Beg with his partizans and the Cirghiz and Capchác contingent fled to Farrásh, and recovering his old fort, collected his adherents there; whilst the Tora Kalán pushing on to Yángí Hissár with the artillery and the rest of the force, sent word to Yácúb Beg of his own fidelity and approach to join him. On arrival at Tázghún, however, he was intercepted and brought to a stand by a force of 800 Cirghiz from Farrásh under the lead of Hydar Culi; but Abdulla arriving opportunely with succour from Káshghar, drove off the enemy after a stiff fight, in which they lost 100 killed left on the field, 70 prisoners, and 200 horses captured. Abdulla having thus extricated the Tora Kalán, escorted him to the city, where Yácúb Beg welcomed his arrival with feasting, drums, and music.

Yácúb Beg now consulted his friend the *Shekhulislám* on the aspect of affairs, and with his consent, installing the Tora Kalán in charge of the city, set out with all his available force to besiege Buzurg in the Yángishahr. On the seventeenth day of the siege Beg Muhammad *Mingóáshí*, with 17 other chief men of the Capchác, deserting Buzurg, escaped from the fort and fled to Sultán Murád Beg, the younger brother of Khudáyár Khán, at Marghinan. The Khán of Khocand, however, hearing of their arrival there, ordered his brother to seize them all; and had the whole 18 summarily executed as worthless rebels.

After their flight Yácúb Beg succeeded in winning over the Cirghiz and Capchác, and on the fortieth day of the siege was put in possession of the fort by them. He at once seized Buzurg Khán, and deposing him from all authority committed him to an honourable captivity; but at the same time warned him that any attempt at disturbance would immediately deprive him of the consideration due to his rank and lineage.

Buzurg, however, shortly after the death of his brother Khoja, the Tora Kalán, commenced intriguing with Sadíc Beg for the recovery of the throne. Consequently Yácúb Beg sent him prisoner to Yángí Hissár, where he kept him for nearly eighteen months, and finally released him on his promising to go the pilgrimage. He deported him out of the country to Tibet, but the Khoja, instead of going to Mecca, returned to his own home at Khocand in 1869 by way of Badakhshán and Bukhárá; and still lives there with his sons on the bounty of Khudáyár Khán.

ROUTES IN KASHGHARIA.

YÁRKAND TO LADÁKH *via* SÁNJÚ.

- P. 1. Yárkand to Posgám, 15 miles.—Across a cultivated plain covered thickly with farmsteads and traversed by numerous irrigation streams. Trees along the water-courses, and orchards round the farmsteads. Cultivation interrupted by meadows and marshes. At three miles from Posgám cross the Zarafshán river, which flows in two channels separated by patches of tamarisk jangal. Ford across a firm pebbly bed between low sandy banks four to five hundred yards apart. Posgám is a market town of about 600 houses. Called also Chárshamba Bázár.
2. Kárgalik, 25 miles.—Cultivated plain, farmsteads and fields, with marshes and jangal patches between. At eight miles cross Tiznáf river. Ford firm and pebbly between low sandy banks 80 to 100 yards apart. At five miles on pass through Yakshamba Bazar, 300 houses. Then across thin cultivation between patches of saline encrustation, marsh, and waste to Kárgalik, 1,000 houses. A market town with widespread farmsteads. Many trees and many water-courses.
3. Boryá, 22 miles.—Soon pass beyond cultivation across a stony desert waste six miles to Besharic, or "five streams," a populous settlement of farms on the water-courses in a wide hollow running from west to east. Then cross an arid and wide waste of coarse gravel to another hollow, deeper and narrower. In this is the settlement of Boryá, 30 to 40 homesteads on the course of the stream from which the cultivation is irrigated. Trees in plenty.
4. Oe-toghrác, 12 miles.—Across an arid desert of undulating surface, of coarse gravel, and wind blown ridges of sand, and very scanty herbal vegetation, to a deep and winding drainage gully in which, on course of its stream, is the Oe-toghrác settlement of 15 to 20 farmsteads. Trees few.
5. Coshtác, 20 miles.—Across an arid, undulating desert waste of sandy gravel for 18 miles; then cross a wide boulder strewn hollow with thin tamarisk jangal, and pass through a belt of tall reeds to Coshtác settlement in a wide hollow. Farmsteads for some miles along the course of the Kilián stream which flows eastward to Gúmá.
6. Sánjú, 25 miles.—Cross arid strip of desert as before, eight miles to a dry ravine in which are four or five farmsteads watered from springs; this is Langar, and here is a roadside rest-house and tank of water under the shade of tall poplars. From this up a steep bank and across a ridgy desert as before for 16 miles to the Sánjú valley down a steep sandy slope. The road to Gúmá branches off north-east on this desert. Sánjú is a populous settlement along the course of the river which flows to Guma, and is forded on a rough boulder bed. Farmsteads, orchards and fields here extend in unbroken succession for eight or ten miles along the river.
7. Kiwaz, 14 miles.—Pass through Sánjú settlement five or six miles to high banks of gravel and red sand; then up a narrowing valley along the Sárighyár river, which runs in three or four streams and is crossed twice *en route* on a boulder bottom, to Kiwaz; six or eight scattered huts on a limited flat amongst hills.

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8. **Tám, 16 miles.**—Up course of Sárighyár river, through a gradually narrowing valley which winds between high and bare hills of schistose slate. River crossed repeatedly *en route* on a stony bed. Banks fringed with bushes and patches of pasture grass. At 11 miles pass the Chúchú glen to the left; a narrow defile which conducts over the Chúchú ridge to Shahídulla, and is taken as an alternative route when the river is unfordable during the summer floods. At Tám, two houses on a small flat, leave habitation behind. P.
9. **Gachga, 10 miles.**—Up narrow winding valley, and cross river repeatedly as in last stage. No cultivation or habitation. Cirghiz camps in glens and hollows in the vicinity.
10. **Kichik Carácoram, 16 miles.**—Up by a rapid rise through a widening and branching defile to foot of Sanjú Dawán, a sharp ridge of mica slate 16,300 feet high. Then up a steep zigzag, through a narrow and rough gap, and down another on opposite side into a very narrow, deep, rough gorge descending to Kichik Carácoram; a narrow strip of turf on a trickling stream between lofty vertical cliffs. No fuel nor pasture.
11. **Pillátághách, 10 miles.**—Descend narrow, winding, dismal gorge over masses of landslip rock, down course of rivulet for four miles. Then enter valley of Carácásh river at Mírzá Abábakar camp ground at a cluster of graves on the river bank. Then follow up stream six miles by a very rough road, fording river twice *en route* to Pillátághách camp ground on a limited flat of brushwood and pasture on the river bank. Valley very narrow; hills high and bare.
12. **Shahídulla Khoja, 14 miles.**—Up stream by rough road in winding valley, with brushwood and forage along river course; their patches interrupted by projecting moraine banks. At four miles cross Kilyán stream from the right to Corghán, a solitary mud castle at foot of a rock abutting on the river bank. At five miles on cross Toghrá stream from the right, then cross Carácásh river three times *en route* to the Fort of Shahídulla Khoja, garrison 30 men; frontier post of Káshghar at the junction of the Cizil jangal glen with Carácásh valley. Fuel and forage here, and Cirghiz camps around.
13. **Sugat, 8 miles.**—Up course of Carácásh river four miles. Then up course of the Sugat river to the right four miles, and, crossing several times, camp on turfy flat on right bank. Hills on left bank steep down to the river; on right bank rolling away in wide slopes to high mountains everywhere bare schistose slate, and trap. Vegetation confined to river course.
14. **Chibra, 20 miles.**—Rise out of river channel and pass across wide slopes of hill to a narrow defile coming down from the left. Then up its course between bare banks of shale through a tortuous channel to foot of Sugat Pass, 17,500 feet high. Ascend by a steep path, and follow a gradual slope six miles down to camp ground at Chibra. No vegetation here. Water very scanty. Snow on Pass from September to April as on Sánjú Pass.
15. **Actágh, 14 miles.**—Over an elevated, arid, stony plateau, perfectly desert, by a path skirting banks of shale to the right. Breathing oppressed on this march. At ten miles turn slowly to right and slope down to Actágh camp ground on a patch of turf in the wide, shallow, shingly bed of its stream. The whole region a bleak, desolate, and inhospitable waste. From this down stream is the Yangi Dawán and Kokyár route to Yárkand.
16. **Brangsa Carácoram, 26 miles.**—Up a wide, shallow, shingly drainage bed gradually ascending between low banks of shale that roll away in wide sweeps to the mountain tops. Vegetation most scanty and in herbal tufts. A few antelopes met with. At half-way pass camp ground of Wahábjilga, where the Actágh stream flows through a cutting in slate rocks. Then

- P. continue over the drainage bed to the Brangsa camp ground at the entrance of a narrow defile. No fuel and no forage in all this region. This Brangsa is also called Bálti Brangsa.
17. Daulatbeg Uldí, 22 miles.—Through a narrow gorge up course of a little torrent for a mile; then enter a wide gully branching off amongst the hills. Soil soft and spongy, slate detritus. Rise gradually to foot of Carácoram Pass, 18,300 feet high, then up a short ascent and down a steep descent over soft clay to a hill slope along the course of a rivulet, and cross it several times *en route* to camp. The pass is half-way on this march. Breathing affected by the elevation on this wide plateau. Surface bare gravel and clay. From Daulatbeg there are two routes towards Ladakh. One by Kúmdán, the other by Dipsang, and both meet at the Sháyok River opposite Brangsa Saser. The first is only practicable in winter, and is traversed in three stages, *viz.*:—(1.) Across an undulating ravine cut plateau to Gyapshan on the upper course of the Sháyok, 15 miles. (2.) Down the bed of the stream in and out of the water repeatedly, and through a narrow straight where the river bed is very nearly blocked by a vast glacier which has slid down across it, on to a bank of loose pebbles and shingle at the foot of a lofty vertical cliff like a wall. This is Kúmdán, nine miles. (3.) Brangsa Saser. Down the river course, and through another very narrow and winding straight between a great glacier and the opposite cliffs and then down a wide river channel to camp. The passage of the straight is done on the ice or through the stream where it is broken. A difficult road under any conditions. The second and usual route is the following in continuation from Daulatbeg Uldí.
 18. Cizil Langar, 20 miles.—Over the Daulatbeg plateau, across a shallow stream in a wide deep gully with muddy soft bottom in which cattle stick, and rise up to the Dipsang plain; wide undulating plateau from which the world around subsides, the highest hill tops only peering above the horizon. Soil soft and spongy, gravel and clay mixed, and, where water logged, boggy. No vegetation. Approximate altitude 17,800 feet. Breathing distressed. From this descend a steep and stony gully into a very narrow, tortuous gorge between high cliffs of red clay; and travelling along in and down its torrent half a mile, enter a wider river bed of rolled pebbles over which the stream flows in a network of channels. Rocks roll from the hill tops on either side into the channel. Camp at Cizil Langar, where this channel joins a wider one from the north-west. There is no fuel or forage in all this region.
 19. Murgi, 16 miles.—Route down a network of shallow streams on a loose pebbly bottom, crossing them continually. At four miles pass Borsa camping ground on a gravelly talus shelving to the stream bed. At a mile beyond quit river, and pass over projecting bluffs, and again meet it as a raging torrent rolling over great boulders in a tight, winding gorge, and crossing from side to side by narrow fords camp at Murgi on turfy ground, where a gully from the west joins. Road very narrow and difficult, and risk from stone avalanches.
 20. Brangsa Saser, 14 miles.—Up the dry, stony gully to the west. At two miles pass Chaungtásh "Great Rock" camp ground at a great erratic boulder on a turfy flat. Then descend rapidly into a deep, dark gully and follow down its winding course till it opens into the Sháyok River; pass up its stream a mile and ford opposite Brangsa.
 21. Tútyálac, 18 miles.—Up a rough gully and across a glacier at its watershed for two or three miles. Then up and down by an extremely difficult path between the side of a vast glacier and the opposite hills, a narrow pass full of angular rocks and snow drifts, and in summer purling with torrents on

- all sides. At half-way pass Sartang camp ground, an open space menaced by half a dozen glaciers around. Beyond, pass along a widening valley over stretches of turf fringing the stream and sloping up the hill sides, and at a glacier projecting from a valley to the west descend into the bed of the stream flowing from it, and camp on a gravelly flat close under the glacier. Fuel scanty; pasture in plenty here. An extremely difficult march. P.
22. Changlang, 16 miles.—Down left bank of river amidst granite rocks for three miles. Then cross river by a wood bridge, and pass along a steep hill slope of loose gravel and sand above the river course and rise quickly up to the Lamsa crest at eight miles on. From this descent to the secondary ridge of Caráwal Dawán, and look down on the Nubra valley, the first green spot and inhabited country since leaving Sánjú. Drop down to it by a very steep zigzag path and camp at Changlang, a small cluster of eight or ten Tatar huts with fields around.
 23. Panámik, 12 miles.—Down the valley over two long strips of gravel talus cut by the deep boulder bed of the Tútyálác River, where it joins the Nubra stream, and is crossed by a timber bridge. Then along patches of turf and brush-wood jangal of buckthorn, tamarisk, myricaria, and wild rose to the cultivation and village of Panámik—to comfort and supplies.
 24. Tagar, 13 miles.—Down the left bank of the river as in last stage. Midway cross a rocky ridge abutting on the stream, with the populous village of Chirása on the opposite bank.
 25. Sati, 15 miles.—Down the river course, as in last stage passing villages and cultivation, to its junction with the Sháyok River. Then up the right bank of the latter to Satti passing villages and cultivation with patches of brush-wood and pasture between on the way. From Satti there are two routes to Leh. First, the direct route by the Khardong Pass. Second, the river route by the Digger Pass. The first is in three stages, viz.:—(1.) Cross the Sháyok by ford or boat according to the season, and pass up the narrow defile of Rong, crossing its torrent several times, four miles; then rise up to a high cultivated plateau, and at three miles more camp at Khardong village. (2.) Polú, 15 miles. Up the course of a mountain torrent, cross a tributary from the right, and pass over moraine banks to an upland turfy slope. Continue up its winding and narrowing course to the foot of the Pass. Then pass a pool and glacier, and rise over latter by very steep ascent to the crest of the Khardong Pass, 17,230 feet high, and descend by a very stony, steep zigzag to Polú camp ground on a turfy flat, cut by a rivulet coming down from a glacier at the head of a glen to the right. (3.) Leh, 7 miles. Down a winding gully, and over moraine banks, the road gradually improving to the cultivation of Leh, and then to the town itself. This is a very difficult route. The other continues down the river from Satti.
 26. Digger, 18 miles.—Cross river, and then up its left bank for 12 miles. Then rise out of river bed up to a high flat talus of bare clay and gravel. Cross it and pass round a hill spur, and ascend to fields and houses of Digger in an amphitheatre of granite hills.
 27. Polú Digger, 14 miles.—Up a rising moorland amongst granite boulders and across peat beds and bogs for five miles to Polú camp ground on a spur where the ascent increases. Then up a long stony slope covered with snow patches at end of June, and rise suddenly to crest of Digger Pass, 17,630 feet high. Pass through a narrow gap, and drop by a very steep and rough path to the other side; follow a winding, turfy glen and camp at Polú huts near a thin rivulet. Some pasture here; but no fuel. Pass very difficult.
 28. Leh to Ladákh, 10 miles.—Down the glen, across its stream to cultivation and homesteads of Sabú, and then up the valley to Leh.

YÁRKAND TO LADÁKH *via* KOKYÁR.

- P. 1. Yárkand to Yangichik, 12 miles. Across a populous and cultivated plain well stocked with trees, mostly willow, poplar, mulberry, oleagnus and orchard trees. At five miles cross Zilchak stream by rustic bridge, and at six miles on ford the Zarafshán or Yarkand river, and camp another mile on at the Yangichik Settlement.
2. Yakshamba Bázár, 18 miles. Over cultivated plain with farmsteads, meadows, and marshes. At 13 miles pass through Posgám, and on to camp over freely irrigated tract of cultivation.
3. Kárgalik, 16 miles. At six miles cross Tiznáf river. Country as on last stage.
4. Beshtarik, 20 miles. At three miles out quit cultivation, and cross a wide gravelly waste of arid desert, strewn with boulders and coursed from west to east by sandy ridges. Pass through a gap in these to Beshtarik or "Five poplars," a cluster of 8 or 10 huts.
5. Yólaric, 12 miles. Pass out of Beshtarik gully on to a wide wind swept desert of coarse sand traversed by gravelly ridges. Camp in settlement of Yólaric, a long stretch of farmsteads on the course of a small river.
6. Kokyár, 13 miles. Cross a wide, shallow, pebbly water-run; pass over a high ridge of loose sand on summit of which is the half buried shrine of Sichcánlúc Mazár; and descend to the Kokyár gully. Follow up its course seven miles past farmsteads to camp in the centre of the settlement.
7. Ac Masjid, 24 miles. Continue up the gully, and cross its stream to hamlet of Posár, six miles. Here leave cultivation and habitation behind, and enter hills up a narrow winding gully to camp ground on banks of a stream running down an open glade. Hills of shale. Vegetation scanty.
8. Chighligh, 12 miles. Up a narrow winding gully by a very steep rise between hills of loose dust, six miles, to the top of the Topa Dawán or "Dust Pass." Then descend by a steep, dusty path down a widening gorge to the bed of the Tiznáf river, and camp on a grassy flat, under an overshadowing bank of rock on its right bank, near a clump of willow and poplar trees.
9. Khoja Mazár, 18 miles. Up the bed of the river, crossing it girth deep 24 times *en route* on a rough boulder bottom (June), in a deep winding defile, and camp on a turfy slope on its left bank. Brushwood and forage in plenty. In winter the road is over the frozen river; in summer through it, and dangerous from sudden floods. Road difficult.
10. Dúba, 6 miles. As last stage. Camp on turfy flat at angle of junction of two torrents. Banks fringed with willow and poplar forest. Pakhpo camps in the vicinity.
11. Gurunj Cádi, 9 miles. Up the main stream as before, crossing two tributaries from the right, and camp on turfy slope amidst boggy springs. Hills of schist and granitic trap, and perfectly bare. Marmots here.
12. Chirágh Sádi, 14 miles. Up stream as before through a gradually widening valley. At eight miles pass ruins of Cirghiz Tam, a former outpost of the Chinese rulers, and beyond it cross a projecting spur into the wider bed of the river, which in June is covered with a deep layer of snow over which the road passes. Camp in a patch of brushwood at junction of a tributary from the right.
13. Cúlanúldí, 12 miles. Up a winding and narrowing gully by easy ascent to the top of Yangi Dawán, 15,800 feet high, three miles. Then down an easy descent for two miles to where a gully joins from the left. Beyond this down an extremely difficult, narrow, tortuous, and deep gorge which is blocked till June by a glacier that melts away in the next month. The passage over it very difficult down to a wider and less steep channel, of loose shingle between steep banks of moraine rubble, which opens into that

- of the Yarkund river. Cross the river and camp in tamarisk jangal on P. opposite shore. River channel half a mile wide.
14. Kúkát Aghzí, 15 miles. Up course of Yarkund river through extensive patches of tamarisk and myricaria crossing the river girth deep five or six times *en route* on a shingly and sandy bottom, and camp in tamarisk jangal. Channel wide with high hills draining to it on each side.
 15. Kashmír Jilga, 26 miles. Up stream as before. At three miles pass ruins of an outpost fort called Nazar Beg Corghán, at entrance to a glen on the left which leads in two stages to Shahídulla by Cirghiz jangal. Beyond this through an alternately widening and narrowing valley to a long stretch of brushwood also called Cirghiz Jangal; and through this to camp.
 16. Khapalung, 12 miles. Up stream four miles, then rise up to a shelving slope of slate and shale on right hand; follow it seven miles and drop into junction point of a stream from the right; cross its pebbly wide bed and camp on the left bank of Yarkund river in tamarisk jangal.
 17. Actágh, 20 miles. Up course of river leaving vegetation, and passing over snow fields filling its channel (June) to Actagh. From this onwards the route is the same as that by Sánjú.

YÁRKAND TO TÁSH-CORGHÁN IN SÁRÍGH-CÚL.

1. Yárkand to Yacca Aric, 4 tash, 60 scattered farmsteads. Road over a plain country, populous and cultivated half the way.
2. Shytán Cúm—"Devil's Sand," 6 tash. Across an arid desert waste; the surface broken by sandy ridges. No habitation. Water from brackish pools. Vegetation scanty, mostly tall reeds and saline plants.
3. Chárlon, 4 tash. A few farmsteads here. From this enter hills up a stream.
4. Chihil Gumbaz, 4 tash. Amongst hills. No fuel or forage. Water from hill streams or springs. No houses. A collection of tombs at camp ground. Cirghiz camps in the vicinity.
5. Jangalak, 3 tash. As the last stage. Amongst hills and over ridges.
6. Tang Tár—"Narrow Defile," 4 tash. Fuel, grass, and water. Road difficult and stony. Under snow six months of the year.
7. Cháy Chiftlik or Chachiklik—"Tea Farm," 4 tash. Cross a high and difficult pass. Breathing affected. No habitation here. Cirghiz in glens around.
8. Kotan, 4 tash. Out of defile on to an open desert waste. Hills receding.
9. Tásh-corghán—"Stone Fort," 4 tash. Enter open valley, with villages along the hill skirts and course of the river which flows to Yárkand.

YÁRKAND TO PANJA IN WAKHÁN.

- 1 to 9. Yárkand to Tásh-corghán as above.
10. Jangalak, 3 tash. Across open valley to foot of hills. Grass and water. No fuel. No habitation.
 11. Shindú, 4 tash. Enter hills up a defile and cross Shindú Pass by an easy road to camp at foot of descent. No habitation beyond this.
 12. Actásh, 3 tash. Through hills to an open plateau. Streams flow to Badakhshán. Country desert. No fuel. Pasture scanty.
 13. Pámír Khurd, 3 tash. An open plateau between hills. No fuel. Pasture abundant. Cirghiz camps in summer.
 14. Khoja Báý, 4 tash. Continuation of Pámír passing between hills.
 15. Haft Gumbaz, 5 tash. Ruined tombs. Country as before, wide undulating plateau separated by hills.

- P. 16. Karwán Báshí, 3 tash. As before. Small lake on the road.
17. Jangalak, 3 tash. As before, along river course.
18. Sarhaddi Wakhán, 4 tash. Along river of Panja.
19. Wakhán or Panja, 5 tash. Along river to the town and fort of Panja, 300 houses on both sides of the stream.

ANOTHER ROUTE FROM TÁSHCORGHAN TO WAKHÁN.

1. Táshcorghán to Kíng Shibar Rabát, 5 tash. Up the valley and across Shindú Pass. Two deserted huts. No habitation.
2. Actásh, 6 tash. Amongst hills, and follow rivulet to Actásh, and enter Wakhán territory.
3. Isligh, 6 tash. Along an open valley with river flowing west. Hamlets in the glens around.
4. Coy Jigit, 4 tash. As before. Pasture abundant in summer.
5. Jagnalar, 4 tash. As before.
6. Jangalak, 6 tash. Cross Zerzamín ridge to next stage.
7. Langar Kish, 5 tash. From this along river course to
8. Panja, 3 tash. The fort and capital of Wakhán.

WAKHÁN TO BADAQSHÁN.

1. Pighish, 4 tash. A village of 30 houses on the Panja river.
2. Wark, 4 tash. The same. Road down an easy valley.
3. Ishkashim, 2 tash. A small town. The same as last march.
4. Zebák, 3 tash. A large village. Two roads join here from Kafiristan and Chitral respectively.
5. Tirgarán, 5 tash. A village on river bank. Cultivation abundant.
6. Ojay, 6 tash. As the last stage.
7. Bahárák, 4 tash. The same.
8. Fyzábád, 4 tash. Large town. Fort and capital of Badakhshán.

SÁRÍGH-CÚL TO HANZA IN KANJÚD.

1. Davdár, 4 tash. Across valley and amongst hills to camp ground. The first stage from Táshcorghán. No habitation.
 2. Jilghar, 3 tash. Easy road amongst hills. Desert. No fuel or forage.
 3. Ghajacbáy, 4 tash. The same.
 4. Rang or Zastol, 4 tash. Up a narrow gorge and over a glacier to
 5. Rangal, 3 tash. Down a defile along a torrent. Road rough. Hills bare.
 6. Talictáy, 4 tash. The same as last stage.
 7. Lúpgal, 5 tash. Continue down the valley. Mountains high and bare.
 8. Udmurkish, 4 tash. Desert country amongst hills.
 9. Misgar.
 10. Sás.
 11. Khybar.
 12. Passú.
 13. Garnít.
 14. Syábán.
 15. Muhammadábád. First village from Táshcorghán. Fields and orchards on river bank.
- } These are all the names of camp grounds. Each a day's journey from the other in vallies amongst hills. Streams from all sides, and scanty brushwood. Country very difficult and bare. Under snow for half the year.

16. Kanjúd, 3 tash. 1,000 houses and fort. Capital of Hunza on a large river. P. Fields and fruit trees in terraces on hill slopes.

SARHADDI WAKHÁN TO KANJÚD.

1. Sháwar. In a glen. Fuel, water, and grass.
2. Langar. On border of Pámir Khurd. Grass, fuel, and water.
3. Khaldarchit. In a glen of the Pamir hills. Ditto. No trees.
4. Lúptúk. A deep narrow defile in the mountains. Grass and water.
5. Irshál. Over a high mountain and a glacier down to
6. Astán. A long march down a defile along a river which flows all the way to Kanjúd.
7. Ispinj. A short march down course of the same river which is unfordable and only crossed on the ice in winter.
8. Reshit. Short march down the river.
9. Kirmín. Ditto.
10. Gírcha. Twenty scattered houses and terraced fields.
11. Khybar. 6 houses. Ditto.
12. Passú. 20 houses. Ditto.
13. Sissúní. 10 houses. Ditto. A very short stage to
14. Gholki. 30 houses. Ditto.
15. Gulmík. 100 houses on right bank of river. Leave river here and cross Durband Kotal, not high nor difficult in two stages to
17. Kanjud. 1,000 houses and a fort. Capital of the country, on a river which flows to Gilgit.

SARHADDI WAKHÁN TO YÁSIN.

1. Barogil, 4 tash. Through an easy valley. Fuel, forage and water.
2. Jangal, 4 tash. Ditto. ditto.
3. Tipkhána, 5 tash. In a glen. Ruins of a tower here.
4. Darband, 4 tash. Cross a mountain and glacier to
5. Dárkot, 5 tash. 50 houses. Field and fruit trees in a glen.
6. Hundúr, 4 tash. 80 houses. On the Yásin. Cultivation and scattered homesteads all the way from this along the river to
7. Yásin, 5 tash. 350 houses, on the river in a narrow valley. Farmsteads and fields, &c., scattered about in nooks of the hills.

In all these routes the country is described as being under snow for nearly half the year, and as everywhere being destitute of forest or large timber trees. The roads mostly very stony and difficult.

YÁRKAND TO KHUTAN.

1. Yárkand to Posgám, 3 tash. Bazar town. Farms all the way.
2. Kárgalik, 5 tash. Bazar. Ditto.
3. Lúk Langar, 4 tash. Farms.
4. Cholak, 3 tash. Arid desert waste. No fuel, forage, nor water.
5. Gúmá, 4 tash. Across arid desert most of the way. Gúmá, a town of 200 houses and many farmsteads around.
6. Manja, 3 tash. Farms on a stream. Desert on all sides.
7. Acyár, 3 tash. Farms in a sandy hollow on a stream as above.

- P. 8. Pyálma, 3 tash. Fort and village and farmsteads.
9. Záva, 4 tash. Ditto ditto. Arid desert between.
10. Khutan, 5 tash. 3,000 houses. City and fort, and extensive suburbs on the Carácash River. Cross it to the city.

KHUTAN TO KIRIYÁ.

1. Dol Langar, 3 tash. 50 houses. Farms and orchards, &c.
2. Chirá, 5 tash. Through settlements of Yárlaghán, Beshtoghrác and Ashma. Then cross Chirá River to the city, 800 houses. On the sandy desert one tash to the north are the ruins of Tákla Makán City.
3. Carácar, 4 tash. 60 houses. Pass through settlements of Golákhmán and Damko, and cross Chira river to
4. Kiriya, 4 tash. Town of 600 houses on river bank.

KIRIYÁ TO CHÁCHAN—(JOHNSON.)

1. Aرسالán Langar, 3 tash. 3 houses. .
 2. Niyá, 4 tash. 6 houses.
 3. Cúm Rabát, 4 tash. 10 houses.
 4. Khadalak, 4 tash. Gold-mine.
 5. Acmarán, 3 tash. Ditto.
 6. Kúkmarán, 3 tash. Ditto.
 7. Ayghúr, 4 tash. Ditto. Wells.
 8. Chakalak, 3 tash. Grazing ground.
 9. Cháchan, 3 tash. Town, 300 houses.
- From Cháchan to Lake Lób and settlement of 1,000 houses and boats is six stages of 4 tash each across the sandy desert.

KHUTAN TO CHÁCHAN.

1. Dol Langar, 4 tash. Cross river to Yuruncash through farmsteads all the way.
2. Tirak Langar, 5 tash. 2 houses and a well. Across an arid sandy desert, passing Karaki Langar half way.
3. Chíra, 3 tash. Bazar town. Farmsteads on hill streams.
4. Toghrác Langar, 4 tash. 3 houses and a well. Across a sandy desert.
5. Kiriya, 5 tash. A large town on the river. Road across sandy desert.
6. Oe Toghrác, 4 tash. 50 houses. Farms on streams from hills; across sandy desert.
7. Aysyúlghún, 3 tash. 4 houses and a well, in sandy desert.
8. Náya Langar, 4 tash. 2 houses, sandy desert. No water.
9. Injilik Bádsháh, 3 tash. 3 houses, and shrine of Bibí Injila, the sister of Imám Jáfar Sadíc. Hill stream here. Road over sandy desert.
- 10 to 18. Tocuz Cuduc—"Nine Wells." One at each stage of 4 tash across sandy desert.
19. Cháchan, 4 tash. At half a "tash" from the town pass Tocpoy village on the river bank. Along its course are numerous farmsteads at the base of a range of mountains to the south. Lób may be reached from this in three days through shepherd camps on the sandy desert.

YARKAND TO KÁSHGHAR.

1. Yarkand to Kok Rabát, 25 miles. Through cultivated and populous tract five miles to Opah River. Cross by good bridge and at three miles on pass beyond cultivation on to the Carácúm, a wide sandy waste, with pools and reeds and saline encrustations and thin vegetation of saltworts, and camel's thorn. Solitary homesteads at distant intervals. At five miles over this waste is Súghúchak *ortang*, or "post-house," 12 to 14 huts on road side. At another five miles over the waste is Rabátchi settlement of homesteads on a small stream. Beyond this across continuation of waste to Kok Rabát 200 houses.
2. Cizil, 30 miles. Across a belt of arid desert waste. At half way pass Ac Rabát post stage and well of brackish water. Cizil is a small town with several iron smelting furnaces.
3. Yángí Hissár, 35 miles. Across a belt of desert waste with small settlements at intervals along the road on streams flowing to the desert from the heights to the west. They are in succession Chamalung, Cuduc, Cosh-Gumbat, Toplac, Kalpín, and Sugat Bulác or "Willow Spring." On from this pass over sandy ridges and cross Shanáz River by bridge to Yángí Hissár City and fort through populous suburbs.
4. Yapchang, 27 miles. Pass over a reed grown saline plain and cross two canals by rustic bridges to Sa'ídlar, ten miles. Then across a similar waste with a few scattered homesteads in sight to Sogholúc at six miles further. Beyond cross the Sogholúc canal, and then Tázghún River, both by bridges, then another canal by bridge to settlement of Yapchang. Soil evrywhere sandy and saline.
5. Yangishahr Káshghar, 14 miles. Over similar country thinly peopled. Cross several irrigation canals, all bridged to Tangscúm settlement, four miles. Beyond it across a saline reed grown tract with pools and marshes for five miles to the river and settlement of Carású. Cross by bridge and enter on cultivation and homesteads to Yangishahr Fort. Káshghar City is five miles further through a succession of barracks and villages and across Cizil River by bridge to the immediate suburbs.

YARKAND TO MARÁLBÁSHI.

1. Tarik Langar, 4 tash. A small Dolán settlement. Through populous suburbs first half of the road. Country flat and coursed by several streams.
2. Tascama 4 tash. As last stage. Dolán settlement.
3. Mughol Tárim, 5 tash. Bazar; 150 houses. Dolán in suburbs.
4. Izitco, 5 tash. Small Dolán settlement in desert waste on a stream.
5. Yamányár, 4 tash. Ditto on river. Desert waste on each side.
6. Marálbáshi, 4 tash. Fort and town of 300 houses mostly Dolán.

YARKAND TO ACSÚ.

1. Izitco, 7 tash. A small Dolán settlement. Road across desert waste of reeds and sands, patches of brushwood in hollows between gravel and sand ridges. Pools and salt marshes here and there on the surface.
2. Láelac, 5 tash. Farmsteads. Marshy ground. Jangal of tamarisk and reeds.
3. Mihnat, 4 tash. Camp ground in the desert. Brackish pools.

- P. 4. Alághyr, 5 tash. Across desert to a river with belt of tamarisk and reeds and poplars on each bank. Soil soft and boggy.
5. Aksak Marál, 4 tash. Dolán huts. Forest belt as above. Tiger and stag hunted here. Wild-boar, wolves and panthers also met here.
6. Shamál, 4 tash. Camp ground on a blank desert.
7. Marálbáshí, 5 tash. Fort and bazar town. Dolán head-quarters here.
8. Chárbágh, 6 tash. Town. 100 houses and bazar. Road across plain as before.
9. Tumshuk, 5 tash. Large settlement on a stream. Tamarisk and reed jangal. Ruins of an ancient city here. Low hills close to the north.
10. Chádir Kol, 6 tash. A pool in the sandy reed grown desert.
11. Yacca Cuduc, 5 tash. A well and two huts on desert.
12. Chilán, 5 tash. Settlement of 50 houses on a stream. Country round desert.
13. Sáy Langar, 5 tash. 15 houses in desert waste.
14. Sáy Aric, 4 tash. Settlement of 200 houses on a stream.
15. Aykól, 3 tash. Settlement of 150 houses on a stream.
16. Cúmbásh, 4 tash. Settlement of 100 houses on a stream. Country around a sandy waste and saline.
17. Caráwal, 5 tash. 50 houses. An old Khitáy outpost.
18. Acsú, 5 tash. City of 2,000 houses. Fort. Populous suburbs.

KÁSHGHAR TO TÁSHCORGHÁN IN SÁRÍGH-CÚL.

1. Yapchang, 3 tash. Settlement of 150 houses. Cross Khánaric River.
2. Yángí Hissár, 5 tash. Town and fort and populous suburbs. Cross Kosán River.
3. Súgat, 4 tash. Cross Shahnáz River and a desert waste to the settlement which extends several miles in scattered farmsteads.
4. Actalár, 4 tash. Across gravelly desert and over Kaskasú ridge by a steep and difficult road to
5. Kíng Cúl, 4 tash. 120 houses in a cultivated glen. An outpost fort here. From this cross a steep ridge to
6. Past Rabát, 4 tash. Camp ground amongst bare hills.
7. Cháy Chiftlik or Chachiklik, 3 tash. Up a valley to foot of pass.
8. Tágharmá Tár, 6 tash. Cross Chachiklik Pass by a steep stony path, and descend into a narrow winding defile. Glacier hills around.
9. Táshcorghán, 3 tash. Fort, in a valley 20 miles from east to west by six from north to south with villages in the nooks and hollows.

KÁSHGHAR TO OSH IN ANDIJÁN.

1. Mingyol, 3 tash. Outpost fort at entrance to hills.
2. Cánjúghán, 4 tash. Amongst hills. Pass Cáhúnjúgha half way.
3. Ocsalár, 3 tash. Pasture valley in hills. Cirghiz camps.
4. Mashraf Dawán, 4 tash. Pass Cúrg húshún Káni—"Lead Mine," and cross stream several times to foot of Pass.
5. Ulugh Chát, 4 tash. Cross ridge by easy path down to Yási Kichik glen, and on to Ulugh Chát where is a little castle, Calá Rahmán Culi.
6. Naghára Cháldí, 4 tash. Up a narrow valley with pasture and poplar trees and willows on course of a stream. Cirghiz in glens around.
7. Egizak, 3 tash. Amongst hills and branching glens. Pass Jiyin half way.
8. Koksú, 4 tash. Up winding valley along rivulet and pass Kirmán Cúl glen on the way. Pasture plentiful and willow brushwood.
9. Tirik Dawán, 3 tash. Up steep gully passing huts of Cirghiz to foot of Pass. Road rough and under snow half the year.

10. Sofi Caráwal, 4 tash. Over Tirik Dawán—"Sweating Pass" by steep and long ascent. Breathing oppressed. Descend to a lower ridge or ledge called Sofi Caráwal. P.
11. Cizil Corghán, 4 tash. Down a winding and expanding gully along a hill torrent to a small outpost fort of Khocand, and camp.
12. Caflán Cúl—"Leopard's glen," 4 tash. Down past Cúlúsha camp ground of Cirghiz to a hill girt glen and camp on rivulet.
13. Sáy Kichik, 5 tash. Down expanding gully, pass Kirmán Cúl camp ground, and camp on open flat.
14. Mádú, 5 tash. Quit hills and pass over broken country to Ilángar huts and fields, and then on to Mádú village and cultivation on hill stream.
15. Osh, 3 tash. Large town and fort, and populous suburbs on the plain.

KÁSHGHAR TO ALMÁTY OR VERNOE.

1. Ostún Artosh, 5 tash. Cross Tuman river on leaving the city, and then a ridge of clay and gravel heights to Upper Artosh, a populous settlement on course of a small river which flows eastward down the valley.
2. Tariklik Yuldúz, 5 tash. Fifty tents of Chongbaghish Cirghiz in pasture glen in which are streams and a few poplar trees.
3. Mirzá Tarik, 4 tash. Winding amongst low hills to the summer pasture of the Cirghiz. Cultivation and homesteads do not extend beyond Artosh in this direction.
4. Chacmác, 5 tash. Up a winding open pasture valley, down which comes a rivulet, to the Chacmác fort on an eminence commanding the road. Road easy.
5. Bálaghún, 3 tash. Streams and pasture amongst hills.
6. Toyun Tappa, 6 tash. Ditto. Cirghiz camps on the glades.
7. Turúgh Át Bála, 4 tash. Ditto. Ditto.
8. Chádir Kol, 2 tash. Pasture ground of Cirghiz here. The lake is three tash long by one tash wide, and is bounded on the north and west and south by mountains. The Ac Sáy river flows from it down a long valley to the eastward.
9. Tash Rabát, 3 tash. Up to a mountain ridge where is a stone post stage of ancient date and very substantial construction with dressed stones. The Elbáy Cirghiz wander here on the wide plateau of Atbáshí.
10. Kalta Búc, 5 tash. Rough road. Atbáshí Cirghiz wander in the glens.
11. Chásh Tappa, 5 tash. Atbáshí Cirghiz roam over pasture hollows here.
12. Cizil Gumbaz, 5 tash. Ditto. The Atbáshí river from Cáyrghí mountain on the west flows down here. Pasture and brushwood abundant. Wild horses and wild sheep in plenty amongst the hills.
13. Kopruc, 2 tash. Across a plain to the Russian outpost fort and bridge over the Nárín river.
14. Kangsáz, 2 tash. A pasture valley. Cirghiz camps.
15. Otar Tagháy, 4 tash. Camp at Ming Bulác—"Thousand springs." This is the source of the Syr Dariá or Syhon or Jaxartes river.
16. Dolán Belí Tappa, 6 tash. Over a desert waste plain.
17. Tolak, 2 tash. Pasture ground and camps of Chongbaghish, Sáyak, Khora, Chirik, Burut, Shúncár, and other Cirghiz.
18. Cochcár, 6 tash. Cross the Yaghan Aric which flows to Tokmák. There is a road from Cochcár to Úzkand and Andiján through the Júmghál defile and the passes of Kokárt and Acsúyál across the Úzkand Dawán. They are constantly crossed by the Cirghiz returning from the summer pastures of Atbáshí and Cochcár to winter in Andiján.

- P. 19. Cobki Mydán Tal, 5 tash. Pasture valley.
 20. Tokmák, 5 tash. A Russian town of 400 Mujik families on the Chúi river which is crossed by an iron bridge. This is the limit of the Cirghiz.
 21. Cazzác Tágh—"Cossack Mountain," 5 tash. Cossack camps in the glens.
 22. Bikat, 2 tash. A Russian outpost picket to protect the road.
 23. Uzún Aghach, 5 tash. Camps of Chaprásh Cazzác.
 24. Cárgha Aylác, 6 tash. Ditto.
 25. Khak Alang, 4 tash. A narrow valley between mountains.
 26. Kastík, 4 tash. A Russian town.
 27. Almáty or Úch Almá Atá, 5 tash. A populous commercial town and a military station. Garrison in Fort Vernoe.

KÁSHGHAR TO ÚSH TURFÁN.

1. Altún Artosh, 5 tash. Market town, 200 houses. Populous settlement.
2. Kol Táylác, 5 tash. 50 homesteads on sandy saline plain.
3. Jáy Táppa, 4 tash. Enter hills. Pasture and trees in vallies. Cirghiz roam here, and in the neighbouring glens.
4. Kirbulác, 6 tash. Amongst hills mostly bare of vegetation.
5. Úy Bulác, 4 tash. At entrance to a narrow defile leading up to the Balautí Pass.
6. Acchí, 7 tash. Across the Balautí ridge by difficult path.
7. Cúyúc Tocoy, 4 tash. A dense forest of poplar trees here.
8. Safarbáy, 4 tash. From this a road goes north to Isigh Kol.
9. Caráwal, 4 tash. Outpost picket station; small mud fort.
10. Úsh Turfán, 3 tash. Town of 800 houses. Fort on hill to the north-west. Suburbs populous, watered by the Acsáy river which flows to Acsú.

ÚSH TURFÁN TO ISIGH KOL.

1. Caráwal, 3 tash. A small outpost fort.
2. Safarbáy, 4 tash. Up the valley towards the hills.
3. Cará Kol, 5 tash. Cross the Bedal Pass, the limit of Kashghar territory, by a steep and difficult path amongst sharp rocks down to the lake, and camp on its shore. Camels cannot go this road.
4. Zauka, 5 tash. Cross the valley and up a winding defile to foot of Pass.
5. Isigh Kol, 3 tash. Cross Zauka Pass. Path very rough and steep and difficult. Camp on shore of lake. Vegetation abundant; pasture, brushwood and trees. Cirghiz camps. From here a road goes west to Almáty, and another east to Ghúlja.

KÁSHGHAR TO ACSÚ.

1. Yamányar, 5 tash. Cross Cizil river by bridge.
2. Fyzábád, 4 tash. Bazar town and populous settlement.
3. Yangabád, 4 tash. Ditto ditto.
4. Langar, 5 tash. Dolán settlements begin here.
5. Mazár, 6 tash. A tomb in the salt desert on the Fyzábád river.
6. Shágir, 7 tash. Along Fyzábád river. Country desert plain. Belts of thick poplar and reed jangal along river course.
7. Marálbáshí, 5 tash. Fort and town. Dolán head-quarters.
8. Chárbágh, 6 tash. 100 houses.

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9. Tumshuk, 4 tash. 200 houses. Ruins of ancient city here. P.
10. Chádir Kol, 6 tash. A pool on the desert formed by overflow of the Káshghar river. Ground saline and marshy with reeds and salt worts.
11. Yár Cuduc, 5 tash. Salt desert. 10 wells here on a ravine. Huts of a few Dolán shepherds sunk underground.
12. Súghat, 4 tash. 20 houses of the Dolán. Water from wells.
13. Chilán, 5 tash. 50 Dolán houses.
14. Kalpín, 5 tash. 50 houses of the Dolán whose limit ends here at the Acsáy river. Sulphur is found here.
15. Langar, 5 tash. 10 houses. Wells of salt water. Acsú territory.
16. Sáy Aric, 4 tash. 250 homesteads on the Acsáy river.
17. Ay Kol, 3 tash. 150 homesteads on the same river.
18. Toshcán, 5 tash. 250 homesteads on the Toshcán or Úch Turfán river.
19. Acsú, 5 tash. A city with 4 gates and 2,000 houses. A fort and garrison of 1,200 men. Suburbs populous and widespread.

ACSÚ TO KÚCHÁ.

1. Chám or Jám, 5 tash. Farmsteads. At 5 tash to the north-east in Tejik Tágħ is a lead mine which was worked by the Chinese.
2. Cará Yúlghún, 3 tash. Farmsteads. Road skirts mountains to the left.
3. Chúrghá, 4 tash. Ruins of a Rabát.
4. Yacca Aric, 4 tash. Farmsteads in a glen leading to Múzárt Pass.
5. Coshtami, 2 tash. Farmsteads. Báý territory.
6. Báý, 5 tash. Market town, 300 houses. At Onbásh on the bank of Múzárt river is a copper mine which was worked by the Chinese.
7. Syrám, 3 tash. Market town and farmsteads; 400 houses.
8. Cizil, 5 tash. Farmsteads on course of a stream which joins the Kúchá River.
9. Kúchá, 3 tash. City, 2,000 houses, and populous suburbs. At 10 tash to the north-west in Tejik Tágħ is a lead mine.

KÚCHÁ TO CARÁSHAHR.

1. Shahíd Mazár, 2 tash. Ruins of a recent settlement of 1,000 families of Khitáy and Tungáni.
2. Langar, 4 tash. Ruins and deserted farms of Khitáy settlement.
3. Abád or Arwát, 4 tash. Farmsteads.
4. Bighol or Bughúr, 6 tash. Town of 100 houses and farms.
5. Kúrla, 9 tash. City and populous suburbs.
6. Básh Ayghúr, 4 tash. Ten houses. An *ortang* or "post stage" here.
7. Caráshahr, 5 tash. Cross river to city, and Calmác campments.

CARÁSHAHR TO TURFÁN.

1. Táwulgha, 4 tash. Farmsteads. Mountain range one tash to the left. New fort.
2. Cará Yaghach or Chucoh, 3 tash. Ruins of Khitáy homesteads.
3. Ush Ac Tál, 3 tash. An *ortang* here. Ruins of Khitáy homesteads.
4. Cará Cizil, 4 tash. Sandy desert. Ruins of ancient city.
5. Gúmush Acma, 4 tash. *Ortang*. Enter hills here.
6. Ayghúr Bulác, 4 tash. *Ortang*. Springs.
7. Súbáshi, 4 tash. Ruins of Khitáy farmsteads.

- P. 8. Tokhsún, 5 tash. Town of 600 houses. Populous suburbs.
9. Turfán, 6 tash. City of 6,000 houses. Fort with 3,000 men. Hills close to the north. Soil sandy and gravelly. Cultivation irrigated from subterranean conduits called *kárez* in Persian, *nukhun-bukhá* by the Calmác, and *khhín* by the Khitáy. There is a road from this to Lob in five or six days. Also one from Caráshahr to Lob in three or four days.
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TURFÁN TO CÁMÓL OR KHÁMIL.

1. Cará Khoja, 4 tash. Town of 500 houses. Musalmán families.
 2. Yangi Khhin, 4 tash. 100 houses. Water from *kárez* or *khhin* streams. At 2 tash is the Mazár Abúl Futtáh. 300 houses, and bazar. Musalmáns.
 3. Lukchun, 4 tash. Town of 2,000 houses. A stream from Ghochan Tágh north of Pichán flows through the town on to the desert. In flood seasons it reaches Lob Nor.
 4. Pichán, 4 tash. Town of 500 houses; all Musalmáns. Stream from Ghochan Tágh flows through the town. Outside is a Chinese fort.
 5. Chightan, 5 tash. 100 houses. Springs. Kashghar frontier.
 6. Lotu Changza, 5 tash. Camp ground at a well on Gobi desert.
 7. Cosh, 6 tash. Well. Gobi desert.
 8. Cudúe, 5 tash. Well. Gobi desert. Cyclones, sandstorms, and whirlwinds common on this part of the desert, and sometimes shifting sands overwhelm the traveller. Diabolical sounds and spirit calls here mislead the unwary to destruction in the trackless waste.
 9. Otar Kima, 5 tash. Custom house, and 20 houses. Springs.
 10. Otun Oza, 4 tash. Small village, cook-shop and restaurant. Springs.
 11. Lodung, 5 tash. 50 houses of Musalmáns. Springs.
 12. Shothá, 3 tash. 15 houses of Musalmáns. Springs.
 13. Jighdá, 4 tash. 40 houses of Musalmáns.
 14. Taghochi, 4 tash. 100 houses of Musalmáns. Bazar and fort. A river from the Cazanchi Tágh on the south flows by the city to Lupchuk and Carátaba and Lob Nor.
 15. Sumcágho, 5 tash. 300 houses. Bazar and Fort. Musalmáns. *Kárez* conduits. At 3 tash is Abdul Alim Fort, 2 gates; 500 houses. *Kárez*.
 16. Camol, 5 tash. Commercial city; 2,500 houses. A Khitáy Governor with a Musalmán *Wang* over the Muhammadans. The city has three gates, and populous suburbs.
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TURFÁN TO ORÚMCHÍ.

1. Shamál Ortang, 5 tash. Four houses. Stream from hills.
 2. Dabánchí, 5 tash. Town and fort. 350 houses, in a valley amongst hills.
 3. Caburghá Ortang, 4 tash. Four houses in ruins. Hilly country.
 4. Dacyáyúnus, 5 tash. Ten houses and an *ortang*. Ruins of ancient city.
 5. Orúmchí, 4 tash. A strong city; 8,000 houses. Double walls and four gates. Population mostly Khitáy and Tungani with Musalmán traders. Suburbs populous and extensive. Calmác camps in hill country around.
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ORÚMCHÍ TO MANÁS.

1. Gumátur, 5 tash. Town, 500 houses of Cará Khitáy.
2. Sánjú Ortang or Sijú, 5 tash. Ten houses. Mountainous country.

3. Sánjú, 4 tash. City and fort. 600 houses. Residence of Dáúd Khalífa. P.
4. Langar, 4 tash. Ten houses and an ortang.
5. Manás, 5 tash. City and fort. 800 houses; 3 gates.

MANÁS TO YULDÚZ.

1. Shítáy, 4 tash. Fifty houses of Cará Khitáy and Túrgút Calmác.
2. Kápotáy, 6 tash. 100 houses of ditto ditto.
3. Cáydí, 4 tash. Town of 200 houses of ditto ditto on Cáydí river.
4. Carású, 8 tash. 12,000 tents of Cará Khitáy and Calmác of the Orúmchí District scattered about the streams all over the valley.
5. Purgáchí, 4 tash. 100 tents of the Carású camps.
6. Tomodá, 4 tash. 200 farms of Cará Khitáy of Yuldúz.
7. Tolí, 4 tash. 30 tents of Túrgút Calmác. Salt mine in hills here.
8. Yuldúz, 5 tash. City of 1,000 houses. Capital of Calmác Queen.

YULDÚZ TO GHÚLJA OR ILA.

1. Otáy, 4 tash. 100 tents of Túrgút Calmác.
2. Tághí Yanza, 3 tash. 100 tents of Túrgút Calmác. Wheat and barley grown here.
3. Sitáy, 4 tash. 60 tents of Chághir Calmác of Yuldúz. Deer abound here.
4. Sintáy, 5 tash. Ten houses and an ortang. Ila or Ghúlja territory begins here.
5. Sarim Kol, 3 tash. The lake is two days' circuit and is fed from the Talaki hills, and has no outlet.
6. Tábahán, 1 tash. Chághir and Cará Calmác camps on Talaki river.
7. Tálji, 7 tash. Ditto ditto ditto.
8. Chongshahr, 8 tash. Commercial town. Russian Consul resides here.
9. Ghúlja or Ila, 6 tash. Capital city. Russian frontier town and Telegraph Office. Emporium of China trade.

CARÁSÚ TO CHÚGHÚCHAK OR YÚRYAR.

1. Totáy Ortang, 5 tash. Ten houses of Cará Khitáy. Cross Cáydí river to the north.
2. Chámpanza, 4 tash. 300 houses of Cará Khitáy and criminal exiles.
3. Ortáy Ortang, 3 tash. Ten houses of Cará Khitáy.
4. Santáy, 4 tash. Twenty houses. Cará Khitáy. Springs.
5. Sítáy Ortang, 3 tash. 200 tents of Cazzác and Calmác of Yúryar.
6. Lácko, 5 tash. 2,000 tents of Táshtába Calmác of Yúryar.
7. Kurtáo, 4 tash. 500 tents of Cará Calmác on river from Kuday Mountain, in which at 8 tash from Lácko towards Yúryar is a coal mine.
8. Sátíz Ortang, 3 tash. 300 tents of Cará Calmác.
9. Yúryar or Chúghúchak, 5 tash. City with three gates, 2,000 houses. Residents are 1,000 Mánjhú, 500 Shibo, 200 Cazzác, and traders from all parts of Russia, China, Khocand, and Káshghar. Many Tungáni here and other Musalmáns.

ÚSH TURFÁN TO ACSÚ.

1. Acyár, 6 tash. Farmsteads. Road through a valley 1 tash wide. At 4 tash pass the farmsteads of Achítágh.

- P. 2. Acsú, 4 tash. City and fort. Road goes through settlement of Aral, and across Toshcán river through Topcán suburbs to the city.
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KÚCHA TO KÚRLA.

1. Yaeca Toconáy, 4 tash. Farmsteads.
 2. Cholábád, 2 tash. Two houses on arid saline waste.
 3. Yangábád, 3 tash. Twenty farmsteads.
 4. Bughúr, 6 tash. Market town, 100 farmsteads. At 5 tash cross a river which flows to Lob.
 5. Yángí Hissár, 3 tash. Sixty farmsteads. At half tash cross Carátál river by bridge. Soil sandy and marshy, with reeds and saline plants.
 6. Chádir, 3 tash. Twenty farmsteads. Country sandy and marshy.
 7. Súlúc Ashma, 2 tash. Thirty farmsteads on a stream from the hills.
 8. Chárchú, 5 tash. Twenty farmsteads. At 2 tash pass Cúrúgh Ashma; two houses and a well on the desert waste.
 9. Durwul, 5 tash. A few farmsteads at foot of the hills. At 1 tash pass Yantac Cudúc, two houses. And at 2 tash pass Owáh, four houses and a well 36 yards deep. To the right hand is the Carású road, which is impassable in summer owing to overflow of Shákur Kol, 1½ tash from Owáh. Soil marshy and reed grown.
 10. Kúrla, 2 tash. City and fort. A river flows through the Cálgha Bazar.
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KÚRLA TO CARÁSHAHR.

1. Básh Ayghur, 3 tash. Twenty farmsteads on river banks. The road passes between the river and hills on the left. Coal is found in these hills, and used as fuel by the people here.
 2. Dangzil, 2 tash. Six houses. Ruins of Kutýáyan in a reed marsh.
 3. Caráshahr, 2 tash. Town of 1,000 houses. Cross river from Túlaman Tágh by boat. 1,000 farmsteads along the river course are held by Musalmáns. The city is inhabited by Calmác, who migrate to the hills in summer.
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KÚRLA TO LOB.

1. Yár Kurul, 4 tash. Over sandy waste with reeds, poplars, and pools.
 2. Konchí, 5 tash. On the Tárím river below junction of the united streams from Kurla and Kúchá. Country desert waste. River banks belted with reeds and thickets of poplar and tamarisk; full of wild pig, stags, wolves, lynxes, and tigers.
 3. Chol, 4 tash. Camp on desert of salt and reeds and pools.
 4. Cará Cochún, 5 tash. Across a desert waste to the bank of Tárím river. Reed huts of Musalmán Cirghiz and Calmác on river bank. Here the Lob district begins and extends eastward to the lake along the river course in little settlements of reed huts each with its own boats.
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CARÁSHAHR TO YULDÚZ VALLEY.

1. Cará Modun, 6 tash. Ruins of a former Calmác Khan's house.
2. Khapchigháy, 5 tash. Over a mountain pass; easy for horses and camels.

3. Bálghontáy, 5 tash. Waste country, cross low ridges and streams. Pine trees P. on the mountains.
- 4 & 5. Cross several hill ridges and camp on streams in the hollows at 5 tash each day. Vegetation very scanty. No fuel.
6. Dálan Dawán, 5 tash. Camp on snow at top of pass. No fuel nor forage.
- 7 & 8. Cross "Yatmish Dawán" = "Seventy Hills" by two stages of five tash each, and camp on snow. No fuel nor forage.
9. Yuldúz, 6 tash. Descend to Yuldúz valley. Meadows and streams, and Calmác camps all over the valley.

The foregoing routes, with the exception of those from Ladakh to Yarkand and Káshghar, have been derived from Native traders and travellers, and are on the whole, I believe, tolerably correct, though varying in the different ideas as to distance and number of houses, and sometimes as to the nature of the road.

SIMLA, }
The 22nd August 1874. }

(Sd.) H. W. BELLEW, S. M.,
Yarkand Embassy.

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